

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Funds for jobs --not for war!



Socialist action program to win jobs for all. See page 3.

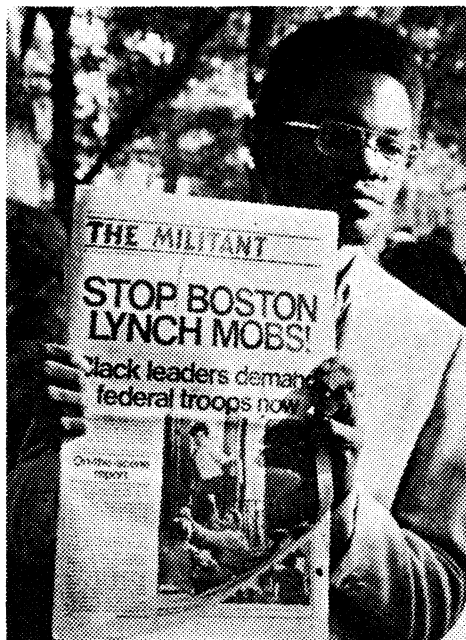
Militant/Harry Ring

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ATTORNEY GENERAL ON STARKY CASE: Mounting public pressure around the disclosure of FBI attempts to get socialist professor Morris Starky fired from his post at Arizona State University has forced a public response by United States Attorney General Edward Levi. The statement came in reply to a letter from William Van Alstyne, president of the American Association of University Professors, who had written Levi to protest FBI harassment of Starky and FBI Director Clarence Kelley's defense of those FBI actions. A story on Levi's response was carried, along with large photos of both Starky and Levi, in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, a publication widely read in academic circles.

"What your letter fundamentally seeks, I presume, is some assurance that for the future it will not be the practice of the Department of Justice to engage in practices of [this] sort," Levi wrote to Van Alstyne. "I am happy to provide that assurance."

However, Joseph Duffey, the general secretary of the AAUP, said, "The answer is not very fulsome for people whose skepticism has risen" because of FBI "counterintelligence" activity such as the attempt to get Starky fired. Duffey added, "It would have been more useful to know if he had, in fact, sent a directive [to the FBI] about activities relating to surveillance of domestic and political activity and what the directive was."

REVOLT OF THE JURIES: Dismayed at its inability to obtain convictions in so many of its attempts in recent years to frame up political activists, the Justice Department ordered a study to try to find out why. The answer they got was not surprising.

More and more juries are "at least partially composed of people willing to be convinced of government misconduct, or willing to believe the exculpatory motives alleged by the defense," the report said. Furthermore, the government found, defense attorneys for the victims of the political frame-ups were "able to evoke . . . the sense that the Government used the legal system to legitimize or enforce unpopular policies or decisions."

GOVERNMENT MISCONDUCT?: If federal prosecutors are wondering why anybody could possibly think the government guilty of misconduct, they need only look at the news from Buffalo, New York. There a woman recently testified that she was paid by the FBI for fourteen months to spy on the legal defense team in the Attica cases. Attorneys for one former Attica inmate charged with murder during the 1971 rebellion have demanded to see her reports to the FBI.

"I took the FBI job on, thinking it was honorable," Mary Jo Cook told a court hearing. "During the course of it, I realized it was not honorable. I committed a political crime."

After the recent rash of informers spilling the beans, maybe the Justice Department will now commission a study on why they are losing so many spies.

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'ZEBRA' TRIAL UNDER WAY: Four Black men charged with being members of the "Death Angels," a group alleged to be responsible for the so-called Zebra killings of whites in San Francisco last year, are now standing trial. The defendants, all Muslims, were charged with the crimes after Mayor Joseph Alioto, at the time a candidate for governor of California, dramatically announced that he had uncovered a national conspiracy responsible for seventy-three murders. This followed a massive stop-and-search operation by police against hundreds of Black men who happened to be on the street. A federal judge ruled the searches unconstitutional.

Quentin White, one of the defense attorneys, charged that the state's star witness, a police informer, is "insane" and that his testimony is not reliable. Several inconsistencies have already appeared between his current testimony and what he told a grand jury last May.

BILL KITT DIES: Bill Kitt, a veteran member of the Socialist Workers party, died of a heart attack in San Francisco on April 12. He was seventy-one years old. Kitt had a long record of activity in the labor and socialist movements going back to the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). He became a member of the Trotskyist movement in 1931.

A forthcoming issue of the *Militant* will carry an appreciation of this outstanding revolutionary fighter.

A SNITCH IN TIME: "A cop is only as good as his snitch." A snitch is a police informant, and the above quote is a common saying among officers of the law, according to an article by Nicholas Horrock in the *New York Times*.

A large list of federal agencies employ informants, and although there are no public records on the number of stool pigeons on the government's payroll, it is assumed that there are two informants for every full-time agent. "This would mean that between the Treasury and Justice Departments alone there are something like 30,000 paid informants," Horrock reported.

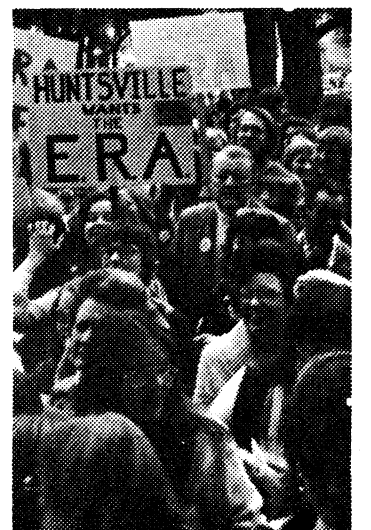
MARCHING FOR THE ERA IN TEXAS: More than 1,300 supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment converged on the Texas state capitol in Austin April 14 to express their opposition to a resolution before the legislature to rescind the state's ratification of the ERA. Anti-ERA forces in Texas have been gearing up for some time to push through the resolution, and 2,000 anti-ERA demonstrators came out the same day.

Although there is some doubt about the legality of such action, two states have already voted to rescind their ratification.

The rally was called by Texans for the ERA, a coalition that was formed after anti-ERA forces began mobilizing last fall. Some members of the coalition who opposed rallies or marches recently changed their minds when the Republican head of the committee holding hearings on the ERA suggested that ERA supporters hold a rally. He said



Militant/Suzanne Welch
Tallahassee, Florida



Austin, Texas

that the numerous protests and rallies being held by the anti-ERA forces were having a big impact on the legislators.

Among the buses coming from Houston was one organized by the Coalition of Labor Union Women with assistance from the Teamsters union.

AND IN FLORIDA: "Equal rights, equal pay, ratify the ERA," chanted demonstrators as they marched, some 2,500 strong, in Tallahassee, Florida, on April 14. Buses from all over Florida and contingents from several other states turned out for the march, which was called by the National Organization for Women and endorsed by a broad range of groups.

Governor Reubin Askew, actress Marlo Thomas, Betty Friedan, and actor Alan Alda were among the speakers at the rally.

Supporters of Socialist Workers presidential and vice-presidential candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid distributed 500 copies of the SWP's "Bill of Rights for Working People" to a receptive crowd.

Meanwhile, the April 16 vote by the North Carolina legislature to reject the measure is expected to kill chances for final ratification in 1975. So far, thirty-four states have passed the ERA. Thirty-eight are required to make it part of the Constitution.

YOUR TAX DOLLAR: Looking forward to a tax rebate? Well, if you are on food stamps, don't get your hopes up too high. According to a decision by the administrators of the food stamp program, the additional money you receive could make you ineligible for the stamps.

Meanwhile, the United States Civil Rights Commission, as well as a number of civil rights groups, has charged local governments with racism in their use of "revenue-sharing" funds.

It has come to light that Jasper County, Mississippi, used \$5,220 it received to move and clean a statue erected in honor of the slave owners of the Confederacy. "We thought revenue-sharing was to help poor people, not move Confederate monuments," said one local Black man. "It seems like they are trying to perpetuate slavery."

—Nelson Blackstock

Socialist candidates speak out

How the unions can win jobs for all

The following is a statement by Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president in 1976, addressed to all participants in the April 26 national demonstration for jobs.

Brothers and Sisters,

Today's march and rally for "Jobs Now" mark a great step forward in the struggle of working people to safeguard our jobs and standard of living.

Tens of thousands of union members, unemployed workers, and students have assembled in Washington under union auspices to say, "We are not responsible for creating this economic crisis; we should not be the ones to suffer from it."

The message of this historic demonstration is that working people are not going to sit idly by and see our wages eroded by inflation, our jobs snatched away by massive layoffs, and our families' lives blighted by the deterioration of housing, education, and health care.

This impressive demonstration of labor's power will inspire and encourage all other struggles against war, oppression, and injustice throughout the country.

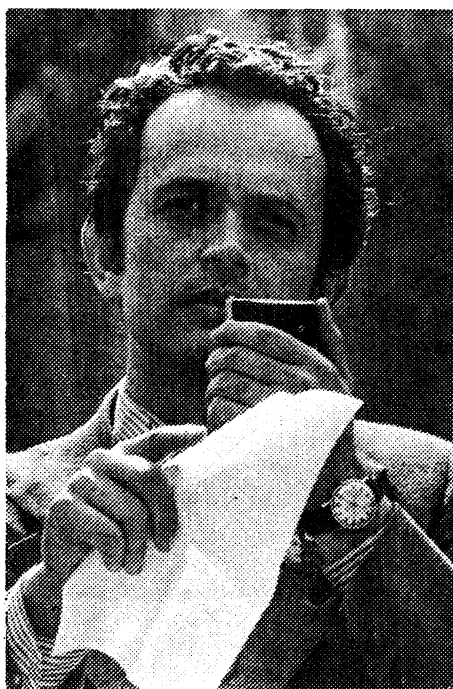
Unionists demand action

The union officials called this mobilization because they know that union members are hurting, union members are angry, and union members are demanding that their organizations take action.

It is no wonder. Everywhere we turn we find our rights and livelihoods under fierce attack.

President Ford, rejecting demands that he take decisive action to create jobs, claims that "the recession is receding." But in just the past six months, factory production has fallen 12 percent, while unemployment has soared from 5.3 million to 8 million, by official count. Government economists fully expect unemployment to hit 10 percent this summer, and there is no end in sight.

The misery and social waste this depression represents is almost beyond comprehension. The government calculates that right now the country's factories are running at only about two-thirds of their capacity. That means a gap of more than \$600 billion a year between what *could be* produced and what *is being* produced.



PETER CAMEJO

It's not that people don't need more useful goods. It's just that the private owners of industry do not find it profitable to produce more—so they slow down production, close entire factories, and throw millions out of work.

The government "experts" now talk as though inflation has been whipped, but supermarket prices are sky-high and still rising. In fact, inflation has chopped our real purchasing power down to the lowest point in more than a decade.

And instead of being increased to keep pace with inflation, funds for social welfare—veterans' benefits, Medicare, aid to education, and so on—are being cut back. In the richest country in the world, there are reports of old people literally starving to death.

What are the Democrats and Republicans doing to turn this situation around? The \$22.8 billion tax-cut bill passed by Congress last month is little more than a public relations gimmick.

We're all glad to get back \$100 or \$200 of our money in the form of a tax rebate, but it isn't going to make up for lost wages for those who have been laid off. The rebate won't close the gap between our take-home pay and rising prices. It won't "get the economy rolling again." In a crisis of the magnitude we face today, this measure



WILLIE MAE REID
Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

is scarcely a drop in the bucket.

Is it really impossible to do more? Ford says there is "no money" to provide unemployment compensation at levels that people can live on, to create public service jobs, or to meet other urgent social needs.

But in the same breath he demands still another billion dollars to try to salvage the Saigon dictatorship, and authority to send GIs back into Vietnam under the guise of "evacuating Americans."

In a country that is supposed to be governed by majority rule, this is an outrage! The American people are overwhelmingly opposed to sending more arms to Saigon or U.S. troops back into Southeast Asia.

Stop Ford's war moves

It was working people who bore all the costs of this dirty war—not the Nixons, not the Fords, not those who profited from the killing. Billions of our tax dollars and the lives of 55,000 American GIs were squandered in Washington's attempt to prop up a corrupt regime hated by its own people and kept in power only by U.S. arms.

Those billions of dollars spent for the Vietnam War were also the main cause of the spiraling inflation that plagues us today.

Ford's maneuvers to send GIs back into Vietnam and provide more mil-

lions for Saigon are in direct contradiction to the needs of working people today.

We need funds for jobs, not for war! The \$100 billion earmarked for the Pentagon in this year's budget would be more than enough to put all the unemployed back to work at union-scale wages. That would certainly be a better use for it than policing the world for U.S. corporate interests.

Ten years ago this month, the first national antiwar demonstration drew 20,000 young people to Washington. Over the years, the antiwar movement came to represent the majority. Tens of thousands of union members joined in the mass demonstrations demanding "U.S. Out Now!"

Today, many of our unions have gone on record against the Vietnam War. The antiwar sentiment among workers is deeper than ever. Why should we sacrifice for Washington's imperialist wars?

Let our demonstration today serve as a warning to Ford and Congress: we're not going to stand by and see the war started up again.

If Ford sends U.S. troops into a renewed war, he will face an antiwar

4 ups & downs to remember

According to official government statistics, in the past year:

- Consumer prices have gone up 11 percent.
- Unemployment has gone up from 5.1 percent to 8.7 percent.
- Profits have gone up 14 percent.
- Real wages have gone down 5 percent.

upsurge that will dwarf the protests of the 1960s—because it will have the union movement in the front lines.

Today's protest has another important aspect. Every blow of the economic crisis falls the hardest on those least able to cope with it: Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed minorities; women; the unskilled and unorganized; the old and the very young.

It is hardly surprising that Black and women unionists have been among the most eager to launch a massive fight for jobs for all.

Black unemployment stands at twice the rate for whites. The National Urban League has estimated that the real unemployment for Blacks at the end of last year was 21 percent. In the areas where Blacks and women scored a few gains in the 1960s in hiring and job upgrading, discriminatory layoffs are fast wiping out even those meager steps toward equality.

At the same time, there is a growing assault aimed at rolling back the elementary rights won by the Black civil rights struggles of the 1950s and 1960s. The drive to halt school desegregation in Boston and other cities is the cutting edge of this offensive.

There should be no illusions about the utterly racist and reactionary character of the antibusing movement in Boston. Its code words are "neighborhood schools" and "forced busing," but the lynch mobs that have stoned Black schoolchildren, screaming "Niggers go home," tell the real story.

Continued on next page

SWP action program for jobs

The Socialist Workers party candidates believe that every worker has the right to a job. To provide jobs for all, they propose:

- A massive, emergency public works program to provide millions of jobs. This program should not be degrading and pointless make-work, but useful projects to meet society's needs: building low-cost housing, more and better schools, child-care centers, efficient public transportation, and medical facilities, and cleaning up polluted lands and waterways.

- All jobs should be at union wages, not the below-subsistence dole paid on present public employment projects.

- Top priority should be given to constructing needed facilities in the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities, with all funds and programs controlled by those communities.

- Make funds available for these

projects by halting all U.S. military spending.

- A shorter workweek with no reduction in weekly pay, to spread the available work to all who need jobs.

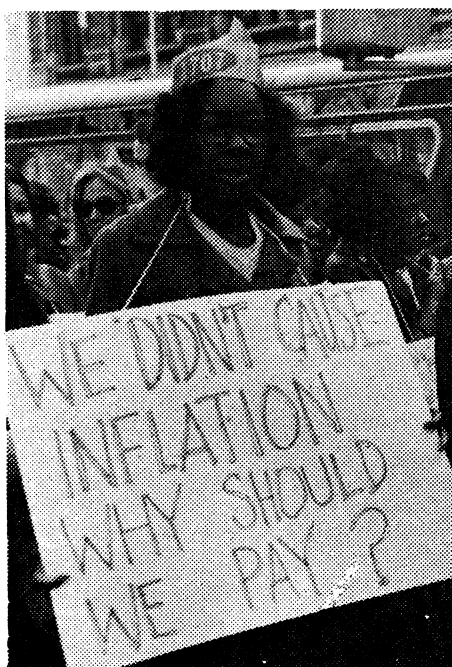
To prevent discriminatory firings:

- Prohibit the bosses from using layoffs to reduce the proportion of women or oppressed minorities in any workplace.

To protect the incomes of working people from the ravages of inflation, the socialist candidates propose:

- Substantial catch-up wage increases for all workers.
- Cost-of-living escalator clauses in all union contracts, to keep wages fully abreast of rising prices.

- Attach an escalator clause to all social benefits: pensions, welfare, Social Security, unemployment, and veterans' payments.



Militant/Martha Harris

...issues in labor's fight for jobs for all

Continued from preceding page

Behind this movement stand the most virulently anti-Black, antiwoman, and antilabor elements in society. These are the same reactionary forces behind the conviction of Dr. Kenneth Edelin, a Black physician, for performing a legal abortion. Two weeks ago their thugs broke up a meeting in Boston's Faneuil Hall that was supporting the labor-backed Equal Rights Amendment for women. They have assaulted Black union members trying to go to union meetings in South Boston.

March against racism.

The NAACP in Boston and nationally has called for a mass march against racism, to be held in Boston on May 17. This civil rights protest, which has already won broad union endorsement, deserves the active support and participation of every unionist.

The union movement must not retreat one inch in the fight against racism and segregation.

What is really at stake in this resurgent racist offensive is nothing other than an attempt to put the burden of the economic crisis on the most oppressed and downtrodden sectors of the working class—an attempt to divide and weaken the entire labor movement to the greater profit of the employers.

Segregation, inferior education, and job discrimination are meant to keep Blacks "in their place" as a permanent reserve of low-paid labor power.

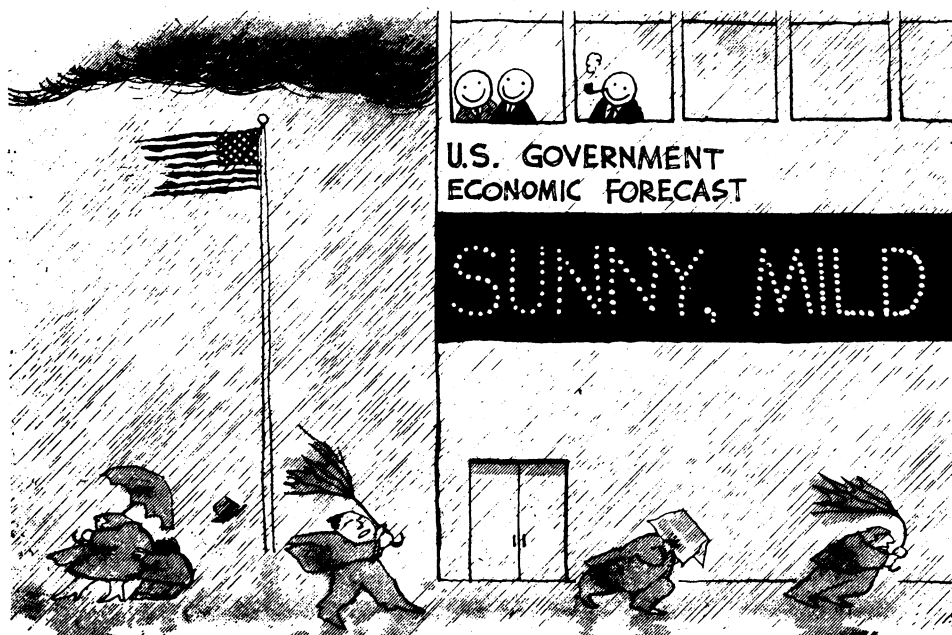
Politicians' demagogic attacks on "welfare cheats" and "government handouts" (meaning aid to the poor, not the multimillion dollar giveaways to corporations) are part of the same racist maneuver.

Whites are told to blame their problems—such as high taxes, rotten schools, or layoffs—on the efforts of Blacks to win jobs, higher pay, or equal education, thus letting the real culprits off the hook.

'Aliens' not to blame

Exactly the same trick is involved in attempts to make foreign-born workers without immigration papers or work permits—the so-called illegal aliens—the scapegoats for inflation. In response to this, Leon Davis, president of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, has said:

"Let's place the blame for unemployment where it belongs. Most of these people have been imported to this country by employers who wanted a cheap labor force. The aliens are the



victims, not the villains in this situation." We agree.

The strength of the union movement lies in the unity and solidarity of all workers. Any attempt to preserve the jobs or privileges of one group at the expense of those more oppressed—be it organized against unorganized, employed against unemployed, white against Black, male against female, or citizen against "alien"—is not only unjust but self-defeating.

Unity of labor's forces can only be achieved by championing the just aspirations of the most oppressed workers. By calling actions such as today's protest, the unions are taking a stand for all unemployed workers, not just their own working members.

In the same way, by proving itself to be an uncompromising fighter for the interests of Blacks, women, and undocumented workers, the union movement will win the allegiance of those forces that will be the most militant fighters for the union cause.

What are the next steps to be taken in the fight for jobs? We believe that independent labor actions like today's demonstration point the way forward.

Just consider what an impressive mobilization like April 26 accomplishes. It gives union members a demonstration of their own numbers and strength and inspires them with a sense that the union really is *their* organization, fighting for their interests.

Unlike behind-the-scenes "negotiations" with Democratic and Republican politicians, mass actions in the street put the capitalist politicians in Congress and the White House on notice that something had better be

done about labor's demands—and done fast!

Further actions like April 26 can give the union movement a whole new image among masses of Americans—the image of a dynamic *social* movement fighting for a better society for all.

Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, reflecting what most of us here today feel, put it this way:

"It was the kids who showed us the way to fight for peace in Vietnam. It was the Blacks and other minority groups who showed us how to fight for civil rights. It's got to be labor that shows the country the way to fight for economic stability and economic justice. . . . We have to march in the streets."

Independent political action

A demonstration such as this in Washington also highlights the fact that workers' problems require *political* solutions. They are beyond the scope of traditional collective bargaining methods.

Most union officials today claim that we can build up our political power by raising money and votes for "friends of labor" in the Democratic party.

Several of these Democratic politicians will be speaking today, and all will no doubt proclaim to the skies that unemployment is bad, they're against it, and it's all the Republicans' fault. But what have the Democrats done?

They have an overwhelming majority in Congress. If the Democrats wanted to, they could put a halt to war spending, provide millions of public

service jobs at union wages, and shorten the hours of work with no reduction in pay.

They could, but they don't. In fact, the Congress has done little more than Ford to aid the unemployed. Even the most ambitious bills in Congress talk about providing at most one million jobs—when more than ten million people need work. And Congress seems in no hurry to adopt even these paltry measures.

Look at what the liberal Democratic state and local officials—such as Gov. Hugh Carey and Mayor Abraham Beame in New York, Gov. Edmund Brown in California, and Mayor Coleman Young in Detroit—are doing.

Elected with strong union backing, all have turned viciously on the unions, attacking the jobs and wages of public employees, cutting welfare rolls, and moving to slash social services (while some, like Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, are getting their cops in training for "food riots").

The fact is, both the Democratic and Republican parties are controlled by the rich. They are not responsible to the workers or the unemployed. We need our own political party—an independent labor party.

Labor does have the power to win jobs for all, but it can only be done by standing up for our own interests and relying on our own strength—in the factories, shops, and offices; in the streets; and in the political arena—not on two-faced "friends of labor" in the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties.

Socialist campaign

We have tried to explain here some of the ideas the Socialist Workers party is campaigning for.

We believe that working people have a right to a job, an adequate income, and a secure retirement. We believe that workers have the right to know the truth about the economic and political policies that affect our lives, and the right to decide economic and political policy.

More and more people are coming to recognize the bankruptcy of this anarchic and brutal capitalist system that puts profits before human beings. It is this system that is responsible for inflation, unemployment, war, and racial and sexual oppression.

Our party is fighting for the replacement of this outmoded system by a new society—a socialist society—with a rationally planned economy, run by the workers themselves and based on human needs.

Join us in this struggle.

Working people's Bill of Rights: Jobs for All

As unemployment lines grow, millions of Americans are asking, "What can we do?"

The Socialist Workers party candidates for president and vice-president, Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid, say working people have a right to a job. And they have a program for how to win jobs for all. They propose a "Bill of Rights for Working People" aimed at protecting us from the evils of this system—from unemployment and inflation, from wars, racism, and sexism.

You can help distribute this Bill of Rights at your workplace, at union meetings, at community meetings, on unemployment and picket lines, or at your school. It should be read by all those looking for a way to fight back.

The socialist candidates and their supporters want to discuss the proposals in the new Bill of Rights with as many people as possible. What do your co-workers think about a massive

emergency public works program to provide millions of useful jobs at union wages? A shorter workweek with no reduction in pay?

Help distribute the Bill of Rights for Working People—discuss the proposals where you work, study, and live—send us your ideas.

The Bill of Rights for Working People: three cents each; two cents each for 1,000 or more.

() Please send me one copy free of charge () in English; () in Spanish. Enclosed is \$_____ for () Bill of Rights booklets () in English; () in Spanish.

() I endorse the Camejo-Reid ticket as a positive alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____ to support the Camejo-Reid campaign.

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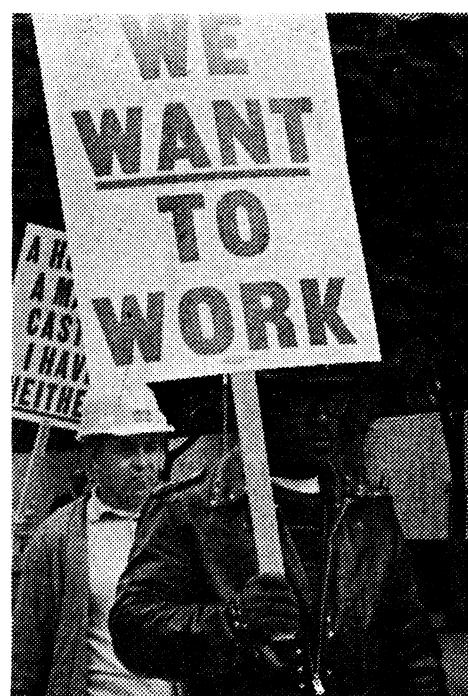
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A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.



'The great bank holdup'

N.Y. budget crisis: city unions under attack

By Ray Markey

NEW YORK—Mayor Abraham Beame has opened a new offensive in his war against the New York City municipal employees unions, and millions of New Yorkers who depend on city services are going to be counted among the casualties.

On April 22 Beame decreed a new round of massive layoffs of city workers and cutbacks in city services.

- Forty-three public schools will be closed; elementary and junior high school class sizes will be increased; hours of city university teachers will be increased 9 percent.

- Three or four city hospitals will be shut down.

- Garbage collection and street cleaning will be drastically reduced.

- Four of the city's fifty-seven fire battalions will be closed; fire-fighting

Ray Markey is a member of AFSCME Local 1930 and a delegate to the District Council 37 delegate assembly.

crews will be reduced in other areas.

- Eight to ten libraries will be closed; maintenance of parks and other recreational areas will be cut back; summer facilities such as beaches will probably open late.

Beame aims to fire outright 3,975 city employees and, through attrition and a continued hiring freeze, eliminate a total of nearly 23,000 city jobs. Hardest hit will be the health and education departments, each losing almost 5,000 positions.

These draconian measures are necessary, Beame claims, to balance the city's budget for the coming fiscal year, which is almost a billion dollars in the red. Even after the cuts, he says, there will be a \$641.5 million deficit that must be filled by state and federal aid.

Responsible to whom?

Acknowledging that the cutbacks will be "painful," Beame declared, "None of these decisions comes easily, but if we are to meet our responsibilities they must be made."

What "responsibilities" is he talking about? Obviously not responsibilities to the working people who live in New York, send their children to its schools, depend on its hospitals, and find their few opportunities for recreation at its libraries, museums, and parks. Not responsibilities to the city employees who will be thrown onto the welfare rolls or asked to take wage cuts and work longer hours.

No, Beame's "responsibilities" are to a different group of people altogether: the New York bankers and financiers who own and collect interest on the city's bonds.

For those wealthy enough to get into the municipal bond racket (bonds are customarily issued in denominations of \$10,000 or more, about a year's salary for the average city worker), it is one of the best deals in town. *Every penny of interest is completely tax-free.*

For the next fiscal year the city has budgeted more than \$2 billion for interest and repayment of principle on these bonds. This is called "debt service," and it is one of the biggest single expenses in the entire New York City budget—about one-sixth of the total. It is also twice the amount of the budget deficit.

Banks give the orders

Beame's marching orders were spelled out several weeks ago in an amazingly blunt report by the Citizen's Budget Commission, which is made up of top officers of the biggest banks and corporations in the city.



Beame's plan calls for closing schools and hospitals, reducing garbage collection and street cleaning, and firing thousands of city employees.

The only way to avert "fiscal disaster," they said, would be through a total freeze on labor costs, to be brought about through "job attrition, deferment of wage increases, pay cuts, payless furloughs and stretching out of contract time periods."

The commission report suggested that "noncooperation by the unions . . . can be countered by layoffs."

"It is most fortunate that the Mayor possesses this trump card and has shown the ability to use it," the report said. "Once the threat of layoffs in lieu of any other type of labor cost control becomes credible, it is most unlikely that this measure would have to be used."

This is precisely the scenario Beame is following today. After announcing the layoffs, he promptly added that he was "always willing to sit down with the unions" to extort other concessions, "as long as dollar value is the same."

The president of the Citizen's Budget Commission called Beame's drastic cutbacks a "small but significant step

in the right direction."

Beame's new "austerity" program is a direct challenge to the municipal employees unions, and especially to my union, District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), which represents about half the city work force.

Actually, the first round in this fight came last winter, when Beame threatened to lay off some 12,000 city employees. Most—not all—of the layoffs were averted when the unions agreed to defer city payments into our health plans, work longer hours, and make certain other concessions.

At the time it seemed to most union members to be a small enough price to pay to keep ourselves and our fellow workers on the job. But the city didn't stop at that, and if we offer more concessions now, those won't be the end either. The bankers and the city government, which follows their orders, are on an all-out drive to slash wages, cut services, speed up the work, and drive down pensions and

benefits—and they won't rest until our unions have been effectively destroyed.

Now is the time for the unions to make a stand—the longer we delay, the bolder the attacks will become and the weaker we will be.

March on Washington

The April 26 March on Washington, which was largely initiated by District Council 37, is a prime example of the kind of action that is needed to stop the layoffs. The tremendous enthusiasm of AFSCME members for the march proves that the union membership is ready and willing to fight.

Responding to this pressure, union officials are doing more now to put the blame for the budget crisis where it belongs. Answering Beame's threats, John DeLury, head of the sanitation workers union, bluntly said, "The rip-offs of the city treasury by some of the commercial bankers will not be borne on the shoulders of sanitation workers."

Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37, commented, "The people we represent are in pain, and we don't see any bankers jumping out of windows."

District Council 37 has printed a four-page leaflet documenting what it calls "The Big Bank Holdup" and has used its newspaper, *Public Employee Press*, to expose the banks.

With a massive educational campaign to take this information to the working people of New York, we could win allies among others hurt by the cutbacks and rally public support behind demands for more services and more jobs.

It's easy for Beame to say the federal government has to bail him out. We call for more federal funds for the cities too—that's one of our demands on the April 26 march—but there is no reason to let Beame off the hook.

When he says there is "no money," we can reply: open the books of city government so we can see who is really paying taxes and where the money goes.

When he says there is "no alternative" to layoffs, we can say: what about the alternative of declaring a moratorium on the city's outrageous interest payments?

Beame will sputter that such things are impossible and unheard-of. But confronted with unions that have the power to shut this city down, telling him in no uncertain terms that there will be *no layoffs* and *no cutbacks*, Beame might quickly discover that all sorts of things he never dreamed of are possible.

Day-care workers march for decent contract

By Marilyn Markus

NEW YORK—Three thousand day-care workers and parents demonstrated at city hall on the morning of April 17 to demand a decent contract.

The demonstrators, most of them Black or Puerto Rican, were members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, District Council 1707, Local 205.

They have been working without a contract since February.

In a leaflet appealing for public support, the day-care workers stated:

"We are out here today to let Mayor [Abraham] Beame know that we have to make a living, too.

"Our union is now negotiating a new contract for us, but the city of New York, which funds the day care program, has offered us much less than what it has been giving to other services and other unions. . . .

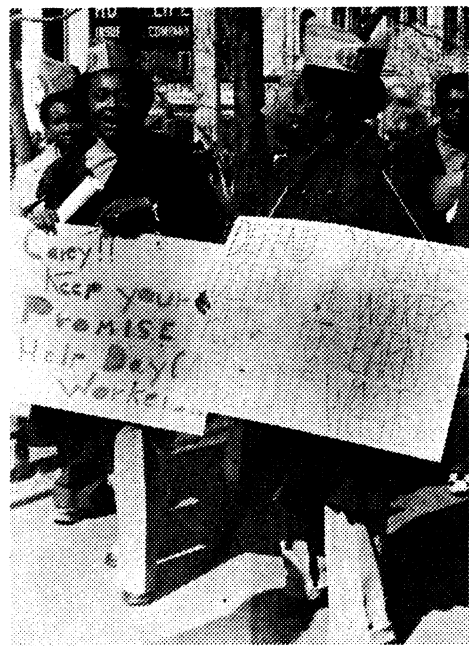
"We have been hit by a 28% increase

in the cost of living since our last contract three years ago. But the city has dictated a 4 to 5% wage increase. We cannot live on that. Most of us don't make much money to begin with. We must have a decent raise."

The day-care workers provide an invaluable service to tens of thousands of parents who must have day care for their children so they can work.

In an attempt to coerce the workers into accepting his offer of a 5 percent raise over the next two years, Beame has threatened drastic cutbacks in day care. These cutbacks would force thousands of working women out of their jobs and onto the welfare rolls.

Rachel Evans, a member of the union negotiating committee, told the *Militant*, "They are discriminating because the majority of us are Black, Puerto Rican, and poor white. If anybody should take a cut it should be the ones who are making the money."



Militant/Martha Harris
Demonstration by AFSCME Local 205

Backs 'Por los Ninos' slate

Camejo takes campaign to streets of N.Y.

By Debby Woodroffe

NEW YORK—"Would I consider voting socialist? Why not? The Democrats and Republicans certainly aren't doing anything to help me get a job."

This was typical of the response given Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, as he campaigned one recent Saturday on Lower Manhattan's Fourteenth Street, speaking with afternoon shoppers. Accompanying Camejo were a dozen campaign supporters who circulated through the crowd distributing the SWP's "Bill of Rights for Working People" and selling the *Militant* and the *Young Socialist*.

Several passersby questioned Camejo about how he, as a socialist, would deal with the economic crisis. An unemployed Black worker, for example, asked, "If you were mayor of this city, what would you do to pick up New York City from where it is?"

Camejo cited the New York City budget deficit of almost \$900 million, pointing out that about \$2 billion of the budget goes to the wealthy in the form of interest payments. "The first thing I would do," Camejo continued, "is to put a moratorium on those interest payments. That would give the city a surplus of more than a billion. Then I wouldn't have to lay anyone off. I would then start building quality low-cost housing in the slums, and institute a public works program to put everyone back to work."

"We have to tell the rich," Camejo concluded, "that their interests can't predominate over human need."

Nodding agreement as Camejo spoke, the questioner shook Camejo's hand and said, "Beautiful. You've answered my question."

That evening, Camejo was a guest at a reception organized by a number of his supporters who are active in the struggle for community control of the schools on Manhattan's Lower East Side. Earlier in the day, campaign supporters distributed a statement issued by Camejo urging a vote for the Por los Niños slate in the May 6 school board elections.

On April 21, Camejo campaigned outside a state unemployment center at Ninetieth Street and Broadway. As job seekers approached the center, Camejo asked them if they would favor cutting the war budget and using the funds to start a public works program to put people back to work. Virtually all those questioned indicated their support for this proposal and took copies of the Bill of Rights for Working People.

Camejo was joined at the unemployment center by three people who had read an article in that morning's *New York Times* announcing his New York tour and listing Camejo's appearances scheduled for that day.

The *Times* article quoted Camejo on the response he has received. "I tell people I'm a Socialist right away. I find a hostility to politicians—Democrats and Republicans—has

turned people away, and being a Socialist is to my advantage."

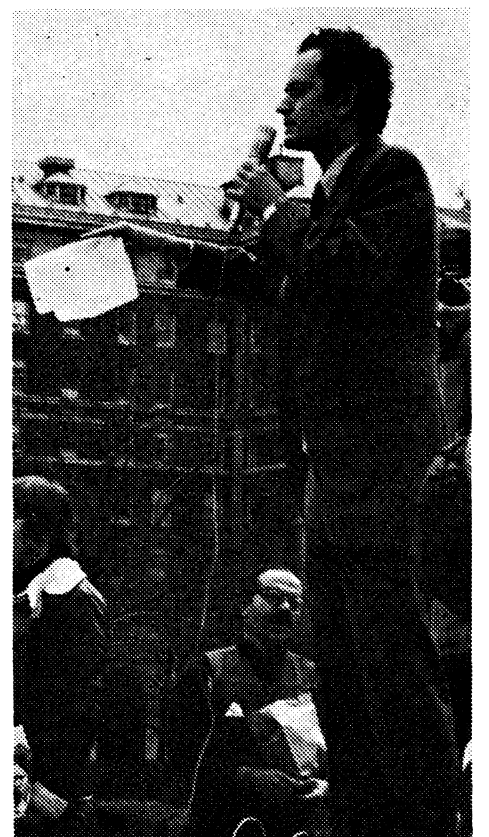
Camejo went from the unemployment center to Columbia University, where he addressed an outdoor rally. One hundred twenty-five students stood listening attentively to Camejo and interrupted his remarks repeatedly with applause.

At the rally were several Latino students who gave Camejo, the first presidential nominee of Latin American descent, an especially enthusiastic response when he blasted those who blame unemployment on undocumented workers.

"I've got a fairly simple solution to the deportation problem," Camejo said. "Let's have an exchange program. For every Mexican they deport, let them deport one of the hundreds of thousands of Anglo-Saxon North Americans who work in Latin America. They can exchange jobs. The Exxon official making \$50,000 a year in Venezuela can exchange jobs with the grape picker in California making two dollars an hour. That way, no one loses a job."

Earlier in the week, Camejo spoke to eighty students at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut, at a meeting sponsored by the Yale chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, the Progressive party of the Yale Political Union, and the Yale Young Socialist Alliance.

Camejo's New York tour will culminate Saturday, May 3, with a rally for all campaign supporters, scheduled for



Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate, speaking at Columbia University rally.

8:00 p.m. at Eisner Lubin Auditorium, in New York University's South Lobby. For more information on the rally or Camejo's tour schedule, contact the Socialist Workers campaign committee at (212) 982-8214.

Texas Chicanos score gains in April elections

By Louis Proyect

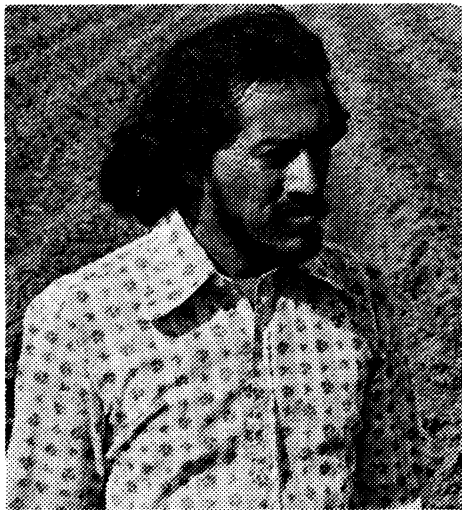
HOUSTON—Raza Unida party candidates scored major gains in city council and school board elections in Robstown and Crystal City, Texas, on April 1 and 8.

In Robstown, a town of 11,000 near Corpus Christi, in a predominantly agricultural area, RUP candidates Roberto Garza and Israel Treviño won two of the three open seats on the five-person city council by a margin of 500 votes. Ricardo Bosquez and Adelberto Ayarzagotia were elected to both open seats on the seven-member school board by a margin of more than 250 votes.

RUP candidates were opposed by the "Unity party," which is the Democratic party slate. (Since Texas municipal elections are "nonpartisan," Democrats and Republicans frequently form such temporary slates for the elections rather than run under their own party name.) The RUP was also opposed by Amigos Del Progreso, a nominally independent grouping, but in actuality

a formation created to siphon votes away from the RUP.

In a telephone interview, Guadalupe Youngblood, state chairperson of the RUP, who lives in Robstown, expressed confidence that the RUP will



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
Guadalupe Youngblood, head of Texas Raza Unida party.

eventually be able to win control of the city council and the school board there. According to Youngblood, the issues the RUP candidates focused on were police brutality, which has increased dramatically in the past eighteen months, and utility rates, which have been skyrocketing in Texas.

In Crystal City, RUP candidates won all the seats open in the city council and school board elections. Previously the RUP held six out of seven school board seats; now it has all seven. The party also maintained its control of all five city council spots.

In a new development, the RUP won three out of five seats open on the Zavala County School Board. Isaac Juarez, Juan Hernández, and Ernesto Salazar, the first RUP candidates ever elected to the county board, won by a 10-1 margin.

José Angel Gutiérrez, a leader of the RUP and Zavala County judge, told the *Militant* that the main task of the county school board will be to consolidate the smaller school districts

within the county and to establish the same type of sweeping changes already put into effect in Crystal City.

According to Gutiérrez, the most significant issue in the city council elections was the fight emerging over skyrocketing utility bills. Lo-Vaca Gathering Company, a subsidiary of Coastal States Utility Company, supplies Crystal City with natural gas. The company has raised its rates 400 percent in the past year. The rates are set by the state railroad commission, a government agency that is notoriously biased in favor of the utility companies.

The city council has served notice that it will only pay the rates in effect a year ago. Lo-Vaca, in return, has threatened to terminate its service unless the current rate is paid. The city council has expressed its determination to take over Lo-Vaca properties in Crystal City if service is terminated. The issue is being reviewed by the railroad commission and may wind up in the courts.

Blacks protest proposed Baltimore curfew bill

By Richard Hill

BALTIMORE—A proposed city curfew ordinance against young people, which would fine parents of violators up to \$100 and/or require a jail sentence of up to ten days, has been met with strong protests from the Black community here.

The ordinance would make it illegal for people under the age of seventeen to be on the streets or in public places after 10:30 p.m. on weekdays and 12:00 midnight on weekends.

The proposed ordinance follows a well-orchestrated press campaign against "youth crime" and "juvenile unrest." Blacks are the main targets of the campaign.

The city council has held public hearings on the proposed ordinance, and opposition to it has built up at each successive one.

At the final hearing, more than 200 people turned out to demand that the proposed ordinance be killed. The city council, stung by the great majority of opposing speakers, abruptly terminated the hearing long before its scheduled end, and fled out the back door.

A "Stop the Curfew Coalition" has been formed to organize opposition to the ordinance. It includes representatives from a number of high schools and churches, the Young Socialist Alliance, Student Coalition Against Racism, Congress of African People, African Liberation Support Committee, Black Workers Congress, Welfare Rights Organization, October League, and Young Workers Liberation League.

With several weeks before the ordinance is scheduled to come up for vote, the coalition is spreading word against

the bill widely. Each Saturday has been designated "Anti-curfew Day," and activists have been covering shopping areas, informing people of the racist nature of the ordinance.

A speak-out against the ordinance, attended by 100 people, was held April 14. A panel of high school students and parents explained why they opposed the curfew.

"I don't want my freedom taken away," explained a Southern High School student. "Besides, it's not young people who are causing the problems in this country."

The sentiment of the gathering was perhaps best summed up by a Black parent who said, "I think we've got to tell the city council to give us some jobs, swimming pools, and improved education, and not to sweep our young people off the streets."

Tax rebate fund

Why you should contribute to the SWP

By Barry Sheppard

Most workers will be getting a tax rebate of between \$100 and \$200 during May and June, under the bill recently passed by Congress. While these tax rebates won't do much in the way of making up for lost pay for workers suffering from the layoffs or help to close the gap between soaring prices and wages, there is a way to put these rebates to work in the fight against unemployment and inflation. The way to do that is to use our rebates to help build the Socialist Workers party.

The SWP has launched a special rebate Party Building Fund. For the past few weeks we have appealed to *Militant* readers and supporters of the SWP to pledge all or part of their rebate to this fund. From the response we have received so far, we can now announce that the goal of the SWP Party Building Fund is \$40,000.

The SWP has put forward a concrete

Barry Sheppard is the national organization secretary of the Socialist Workers party.

and realistic program for fighting unemployment and inflation. We start from the truth that these two evils, which are severely hurting working people, are not the workers' doing. The capitalist press likes to blame workers for inflation and unemployment. They tell us that if we would accept wages that don't keep up with prices, worse working conditions, more speedup, more pollution, and less energy, everything would be just fine.



The SWP has put forward a concrete and realistic program for fighting unemployment and inflation.

Just fine for the handful of very rich families who control the economy, maybe, but not so good for the rest of us. No, working people are not the cause of unemployment and inflation—we are the victims. The cause is to be found in the workings of the capitalist system, which puts the private profits of a handful above the needs of the great majority.

The SWP says that the workers are not to blame for the failings of the capitalist system. We're not concerned with giving Ford or Congress some kind of advice on how to make the system work better, but in raising programs that the workers can use to defend themselves.

We call for an end to the war spending, which only serves to protect the property and profits of the rich around the world, and doesn't help us one bit.

There should be an immediate crash program of public works to build needed schools, hospitals, child-care centers, and housing—as an immediate step to relieve unemployment.

We demand that when unemployment rises there be a cut in the workweek, at no reduction in pay, to spread the available work. As prices rise, our union contracts, Social Security benefits, pensions, and so forth should have escalator clauses to automatically raise our income to fully

compensate for increases in the cost of living.

Of course the capitalists say that these and other demands can't be met, because they cut into profits. We should answer, that is too bad, because it's your system, under which you make profits from our labor, that is causing inflation and unemployment. We should not have to pay for the failings of your system. We are going to fight to protect ourselves and our families from the economic ravages you have inflicted upon us, and we don't care if that means you pay a bit.

And if your system can't carry out such reasonable proposals, then we should replace it with a new one that can.

To bring socialist ideas to as many as possible requires building a strong socialist party, and that requires money. We appeal to you to fill out the coupon below and join in this important campaign.

Clip and mail to: SWP Party Building Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

() I am going to send my full tax rebate of \$_____ to help the fight for socialism.

() I can pledge \$_____ from my rebate.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Right-wing terrorists strike again in L.A.

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Right-wing terrorists have struck again here.

Two victims of previous attacks—the Los Angeles Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case and the Unidos bookstore—were the targets of new bomb attacks.

Both bombings came less than a month after the *Los Angeles Free Press* published an interview in which a local Nazi boasted of earlier bombings by his group. The police stubbornly refused to act on this open admission.

While refusing to act against the Nazis, the police did arrest a member of the Jewish Defense League (JDL), charging him with the recent bombing of the Iraqi Airways office in Hollywood and the earlier bombing of a pro-United Nations bookstore at the time of the appearance of Yasir Arafat at the UN.

On Sunday night, April 13, while the shop was closed, the roof of the Unidos bookstore in East Los Angeles was broken through and a canister containing an explosive dropped into the attic. It ripped a hole in the ceiling of the bookstore.

The store's electrical wiring had to be replaced and additional damage was done.

Earlier, on the night of April 2, a bomb exploded on the roof of the building that, until several days previous, had housed the office of the Los Angeles Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case.

Ten days earlier, police received a warning that a bomb had been placed there. A search at that time failed to reveal one, but two days later, maintenance workers looking for a leak found an unexploded pipe bomb on the roof.

The Unidos bookstore, operated by

supporters of the October League, had been bombed previously on February 4, several hours after a lethal pipe bomb was exploded at the Central East campaign headquarters of the Socialist Workers party. It was only by accident that no one was killed in the bombing of the SWP hall.

In a phone call to a local news agency, the National Socialist [Nazi] Liberation Front had taken credit for the bombing of the SWP and the tear-gas disruption two nights previous of a rally of the Rosenberg committee.

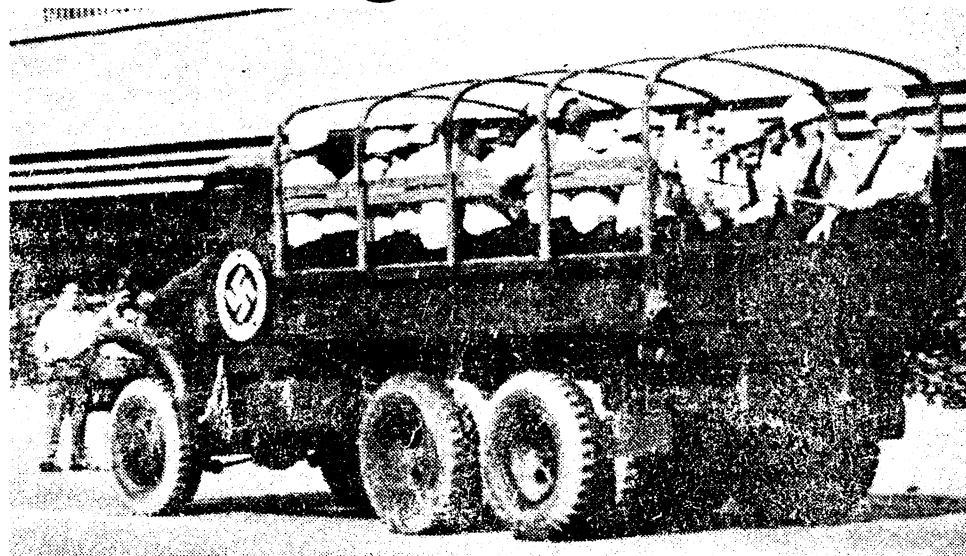
Shortly after the current bombing of the Unidos bookstore, police said the Associated Press received an anonymous call crediting an anti-Castro Cuban exile group with the attack. Earlier, Cuban counterrevolutionaries had taken credit for planting a bomb in the studios of KCET-TV, a public broadcasting station, which had scheduled a showing of the Cuban film *Lucia*.

In an April 18 letter to Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, the Socialist Workers party charged that police refusal to act in the earlier bombings was responsible for the new attacks.

"Clearly," the letter stated, "these right-wing terrorists are encouraged by the official inaction of your administration and the police department."

Phillip Goodman, the JDLer charged with the April 5 bombing of the Iraqi Airways office and the bombing of the pro-UN bookstore last December 10, was described as an "explosives expert" who had worked for a copper-mining company in Arizona.

According to one press account, police are also probing the possibility that Goodman may have been responsible for the sinking of a \$2.5 million cruise ship, the *Caribe Star*, in the area April 10. The ship is owned by a



Truckload of Nazis at 1972 antiwar demonstration in Los Angeles. Despite Nazis' public boasting about recent political bombings, L.A. cops have refused to move against them.

company that had been reported planning to sell another of its ships to a buyer from Kuwait.

After the *Caribe Star* sank, a local paper received a call saying the ship had been sunk as "a warning against selling ships to Arabs."

The *Caribe Star* has been refloated since the arrest of Goodman, and authorities said it "probably" had been sunk by an explosive.

Goodman was also accused of having placed an explosive device that failed to go off April 5 at a local travel agency.

No mention was made by police of the planting of a pipe bomb, which fortunately failed to explode, at the office of the *Palestine Voice*, a community paper. An anonymous caller had told United Press International that one had been planted as "a warning to all enemies of the Jewish people."

The arrest of a JDLer and the apparently diligent investigation of the sinking of the *Caribe Star* suggests that when property is involved—particularly property of influential business forces—the cops can take action.

But the continuing refusal to act in the other bombings suggests that Nazi Joe Tommasi was not making an empty boast when he told the *Los Angeles Free Press*, "We know the cops aren't interested if we bomb the Left."

The administration of Mayor Bradley will not be permitted to duck this issue. The SWP and others concerned with basic liberties intend to conduct a systematic campaign to put these right-wing killers behind bars. Locally and nationally, Mayor Bradley will be confronted with the question: Does his administration intend to permit Nazi bombers to run loose in Los Angeles?

MAY 17 COUNTDOWN



RALLY FOR JOBS: Members of the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) will be converging on Washington, D.C., to support the April 26 rally for jobs. A statement they will distribute urging unionists to support the NAACP-called May 17 march on Boston for school desegregation says, in part, "If the gains of the civil rights movement are pushed back in Boston it will embolden anti-Black, antiwoman, and antilabor forces. Through mass, peaceful, legal actions such as the April 26 march for jobs, we have won gains for the labor and civil rights movements in the past."

"You are needed to help sustain those victories in Boston."

DENVER DEMONSTRATION: On April 19 in Denver, 200 people protested racism in Boston and Colorado at a demonstration organized by Denver SCAR. Chanting "Buses gotta roll, segregation's gotta go"; "Bilingual, bicultural education now"; and "Support the Boston children, end the racist drive," the protesters marched from East High School in the Black community to the state capitol, where they held a rally on the steps.

The student government of the University of Northern Colorado in Greeley organized a busload of students to attend the event. Contingents from Colorado State University at Fort Collins and the University of Colorado at Boulder also marched.

Rhonda Marshall of Denver SCAR and Rev. John Morris of the Macedonia Baptist Church cochaired the rally. Speakers included Tom Foster of the Park Hill NAACP; Betty Emerson of Black Educators United; Jesse Corona of Chicano Welfare Rights; and James Tripp, professor at the University of Northern Colorado.

Also, Lonnie Williams of the Boulder Student Mobilization Committee Against Racism; State Rep. Wellington Webb; Ernesto Vigil of the Crusade for Justice; Frank Dillon of the Colorado Warriors Society, a Native American organization; and Ronnie Drew of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Two candidates for local school board also spoke—Everett Chávez, an independent Chicano candidate, and Jack Marsh, the candidate of the Socialist Workers party.

SPEAK-OUT: The Youth Affairs Committee of the Boston NAACP and Boston SCAR will cohost a speak-out on "Racism in the Boston Schools" on April 26 at the Elma Lewis School of Fine Arts, in the Boston Black community. A number of high school students will talk about their experiences. In addition, André Jean-Louis, a Haitian who was brutally beaten by a racist mob in South Boston last fall, will speak. Leon Rock, youth adviser for the Boston NAACP, and Kim O'Brien, a school bus driver who was assaulted by white students, will also address the meeting.

TRUTH ABOUT BOSTON: The National Student Coalition Against Racism has organized a group of civil rights activists who are available to speak around the country on such topics as "The Fight for School Desegregation: Little Rock '57—Boston

'75" and "Boston: Background to the Struggle for Equal Rights."

Speakers available through NSCAR include Robert F. Williams, who was framed up for leading efforts on the part of the Monroe, North Carolina, Black community to defend itself from racist attacks in the 1960s; Jonathan Kozol, author of *Death at an Early Age*; Luis Fuentes, suspended Puerto Rican superintendent of schools in school District One in New York City; and Kathy Kelly, president of the National Student Association.

Also, Rev. Vernon Carter, longtime civil rights leader in Boston; Rexford Weng, vice-president at-large of the Massachusetts State Labor Council, AFL-CIO; Joette Chaney, a Black high school student who is a coordinator of



Rev. Vernon Carter is one of group of civil rights leaders available to speak on Boston struggle.

NSCAR; and Maceo Dixon, also a coordinator of NSCAR.

For more information contact NSCAR, 720 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02215. Telephone: (617) 266-9665.

THEIR KIND OF TOWN?: Chicago SCAR activist Joe Sanders reports that antiracists there are organizing to oppose an ominous growth of right-wing violence. The Nazis have recently taken "moral credit" for a series of bombings of Black homes, while city officials sit back and do nothing. In Aurora, a suburb of Chicago, the Ku Klux Klan is on an open recruitment drive.

A teach-in will be held on April 28 at Loop Junior College to protest these events and help build support for the May 17 march against racism in Boston. Scheduled speakers include Charlotte Walker of the Chicago chapter of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Lillie Briscoe, whose home was bombed; Ron Mayberry, vice-president of American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 2000; Andrew Pulley of Chicago SCAR; and Al Raby, a longtime civil rights leader in Chicago.

MAY 17 BUTTONS: The May 17 button advertised on this page is a big hit around the country. Chicago SCAR reports that they ordered 500 and had to reorder after one week. In Detroit a hospital worker sold 26 in one hour to people standing in line at the payroll

window. Activists in Cleveland sold 100 in five days on the campuses. The button was also popular among protesters at President Ford's speech at the bicentennial commemoration in Concord, Massachusetts.

NEW NSCAR CHAPTER: A Black-white dialogue group at Cleveland Heights High School recently voted to become a chapter of NSCAR. This brings to thirteen the number of high schools in the Cleveland area where supporters of NSCAR are active.

Activists in that city are holding a teach-in on April 25 at Cleveland State University (CSU) to build support for May 17. Speakers will include Robert F. Williams; James Stallings, director of the Greater Cleveland NAACP; Ernest Fann, chief aide to U.S. Rep. Louis Stokes; Lois Jones, president of the Cleveland Coalition of Black Trade Unionists; Carol Banks, vice-president of the Cleveland National Organization for Women (NOW); Janet Thompson, president of the CSU Society for Afro-American Unity; and Joyce Jefferson of the National Council of Negro Women.

FREEDOM FUND DINNER: At the NAACP's upcoming annual Freedom Fund Dinner in Detroit, which 3,000 people are expected to attend, everyone will get the word on the May 17 march on Boston and be urged to sign up to go.

Supporters of May 17 in Detroit have recently arranged for a performance of the play *Tobacco Road* from which the proceeds will be used to publicize May 17 and help purchase transportation to Boston.

LOS ANGELES ACTION: Henry Dotson, president of the Los Angeles NAACP, announced that a demonstration will take place in Los Angeles on May 17 in solidarity with the Boston demonstration and to protest the reversal by the California Appeals Court of a local school desegregation order.

The demonstration is supported by the Watts, Oxnard, Barstow, and Pasadena chapters of the NAACP. It is also backed by L.A. SCAR and the Committee Against Segregated Education. Marchers will assemble at C.W. Lindsay park at Forty-first Street and Avalon at 1:00 p.m. They will march to Exposition Park, where a rally will be held at 2:00 p.m.

CHISHOLM URGES SUPPORT: The New York State Council of Black Elected Officials has endorsed the May 17 march for school desegregation in Boston. U.S. Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.) urged the group to go on record in support of the action.

The New York chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the executive board of New York NOW have also recently endorsed May 17.

NAACP NEWS CONFERENCE: The presidents of the Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware NAACP chapters recently held a news conference in Philadelphia to announce plans to bring residents of the tri-state area to Boston on May 17.

At a recent Pennsylvania NAACP

state board conference, Earl Trent, counsel for the North Philadelphia NAACP, announced that a suit will be filed to desegregate the Philadelphia schools. At a panel on school desegregation, held during the conference and attended by more than 100 people, Tony Austin of Philadelphia SCAR spoke on student support for May 17.

PROTEST SHOCKLEY: At Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut, 250 students held a rally to protest an invitation to William Shockley to speak on campus. Shockley is a preacher of pseudoscientific theories of Black inferiority. Sam Manuel and Andrea Lubrano, both of New York SCAR, addressed the demonstration.

COLUMBUS TEACH-IN: Sixty people attended a teach-in April 11 at Ohio State University (OSU) in Columbus on "The Fight Against Racism in Columbus and Boston." Ray Sherbill, a coordinator of NSCAR, gave a firsthand account of the situation in Boston. Charles Glatt, a professor of education at OSU, who wrote the school desegregation plan for Indianapolis, blasted the Columbus school system for spending nearly \$100,000 of taxpayers' money to fight a desegregation suit so they can continue "breaking the law."

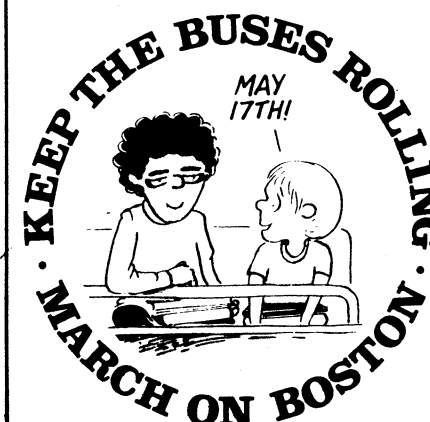
—Wendy Lyons

Support the march on Boston

Wear a May 17 button designed for the National Student Coalition Against Racism by "Doonesbury" creator Gary Trudeau. Price: \$1.00 each, 35 cents each for orders of ten or more. Also available from NSCAR are May 17 posters at \$1.25 per 100 and the *Student Mobilizer* at \$4.00 per 100. All orders must be prepaid. Send to NSCAR, 720 Beacon Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02115.

Enclosed is \$_____ for:
_____ button(s)
_____ posters
_____ *Student Mobilizers*

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____



Stalinism's record on Black struggle

By Ginny Hildebrand

(Third in a series)

In a recent series of articles in the *Daily World*, Young Workers Liberation League leader Matty Berkelhammer falsifies the role of the Young Socialist Alliance in the Black liberation struggle. Berkelhammer's aim is to cast suspicion on the YSA's efforts to help build the May 17 march on Boston for school desegregation. He tries to undermine the NAACP-called demonstration, which the YWLL and the Communist party are refusing to actively support.

In doing this Berkelhammer is following in the tradition of subordinating the needs and interests of the Black struggle to the Stalinists' narrow aims.

The new generation of fighters for Black liberation should be aware of their record of sabotage and treachery.

Under the guidance of Lenin's Bolsheviks, the early American Communist party began to champion the Black struggle. But after Lenin's death, a conservative bureaucracy, with Stalin as its representative, rose to power and took hold of the Russian Revolution, just as Meany and his ilk have taken hold of the trade-union movement in this country.

This Soviet bureaucracy feared revolutionary struggles that would upset the status quo. Instead, it set out on the course of building "socialism in one country," while abandoning the perspective of world revolution.

With the Stalinist bureaucracy in power, the Communist parties around the world were transformed from revolutionary parties into instruments that would serve the interests of this privileged caste. CP members were taught to believe—and still do—that the interests of the world's working class must be subordinated to the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy.

World War II period

A look at the Stalinists' policy toward the Black movement during World War II strikingly illustrates the "good services" they were willing to provide the Soviet bureaucrats at the expense of the struggle for Black liberation.

In August 1939, Stalin concluded a nonaggression pact with Hitler. During this period the CP in this country loudly proclaimed its opposition to the impending world war. They correctly explained that the war was fundamentally an imperialist war that was not in the interests of Blacks or the working class as a whole. For example, in the *Daily Worker* of May 24, 1941, the CP explained that "this war holds no good for the Negro but will usher in destruction of democratic rights and further denial of the meager civil liberties he enjoys already."

Nothing could have been truer. But truth for the CP is subject to change if the Soviet bureaucracy says so. And it did. Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, and the American Stalinists began a 180-degree turn that led them to become the most flag-waving, prowar allies of American capitalism.

In 1942, CP chief Earl Browder wrote a pamphlet entitled *Victory Must Be Won*, which explained the sudden transformation of the imperialist war into "an obligatory war of national liberation."

"Our very existence is at stake," he wrote. "That

is why the obligatory slogan is: 'Everything to win the war! Everything for victory over the Axis!'"

At Moscow's behest, the CP's new line was that the working class and Blacks should give unconditional support to the imperialist regimes in the Allied camp. This, they were told, was the only way to defend the Soviet Union. The Trotskyists pointed out that the best way to defend the Soviet Union was to rely not upon the Allied imperialists but on the struggles of the working people of the world, including the struggle of Blacks in this country.

No-strike pledge

In the trade unions, the CP fought for the no-strike pledge. Any worker who wanted to struggle to defend his or her standard of living was branded an "agent of the Axis" or "pro-fascist." There were constant appeals for "national unity" and the "war effort." Headlines in the *Daily Worker* read, "Let every machine operate 24 hours a day!" and "Labor's shoulder to the wheel!"

In the CP's war frenzy all regard for solidarity in the face of ruling-class attacks on fundamental civil liberties was thrown to the winds. When the leaders of the Socialist Workers party were jailed, under the notorious Smith Act, for their opposition to Washington's imperialist aims in the war, the CP hailed their imprisonment.

Browder boasted in the March 1944 issue of *Communist*, "My party, the Communist Party, is the only national political organization which has renounced all thought of partisan advantage and completely subordinated all other considerations to the needs of the quickest and most complete victory in the war."

And Browder wasn't kidding.

The CP preached to Black Americans that the war that had once held "no good for the Negro" was suddenly a war for their liberation. In the January 1944 issue of *Communist*, Browder proclaimed, "The immediate achievement in this period, under the present American system of complete equality for the Negroes, has been made possible by the war crisis, and by the character of this war as a people's war of national liberation."

Blacks could gain full equality and an end to racism in American capitalist society, the CP argued, if—and here's the catch—they subordinated everything to the war effort. Any struggle for Black rights had to be set aside. As Eugene Gordon, a staff writer for the *Daily Worker*, explained in 1942, "Hitler is the main enemy" and the "foes of Negro rights in this country should be considered as secondary."

Blacks disagreed

Millions of Blacks in this country did not share the Stalinists' view that the brutal racist oppression they suffered was a secondary problem whose solution would take care of itself. They were determined to fight back. With the capitalist class in need of increased labor- and soldier-power during the war, Blacks saw an opportunity to press for their demands for an end to Jim Crow and for full equality. A powerful expression of this mass sentiment was the March on Washington movement.

A. Philip Randolph called for a national march on Washington in the spring of 1941 to demand an end to discrimination in the war industries and an end to segregation in the armed forces. The proposal caught on like wildfire, and it shook up the ruling class. The prospect of 100,000 Blacks marching down Pennsylvania Avenue demanding their rights forced President Roosevelt to issue an executive order that mildly advocated ending discrimination in industries holding defense contracts. But this order contained no provisions for enforcing an end to discrimination.

Unfortunately, the leadership of the march accepted Roosevelt's sop and called off the demonstration just a few days before it was to take place.

The march was in the works during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact, so the CP gave some support to it at first, while criticizing the Randolph leadership for not making the movement clearly antiwar. One year later the CP was to attack the March on Washington movement for not being explicitly prowar.

After Roosevelt's executive order had been shown to all to be a worthless scrap of paper, the March on



Masses of Blacks wanted to push forward struggle for full equality during World War II.

Washington movement held a rally of 25,000 at Madison Square Garden on June 16, 1942. The rally adopted militant resolutions against all forms of discrimination and segregation and in favor of independence for colonial peoples. Similar rallies were held in Washington, D.C., and Chicago.

The *Militant* hailed the New York meeting as it had the earlier march plans, saying, "It was a powerful demonstration of the Negro people's determination to fight for and win equality and democracy at home."

CP attacks Black rally

The Stalinist press, on the other hand, called the rally organizers "appeasers" of the Axis. They also attacked the action because the Socialist Workers party supported and helped publicize the event.

The March on Washington movement expressed the widespread sentiment among Blacks that they did not want to put off their fight against racism, even if they also supported the war.

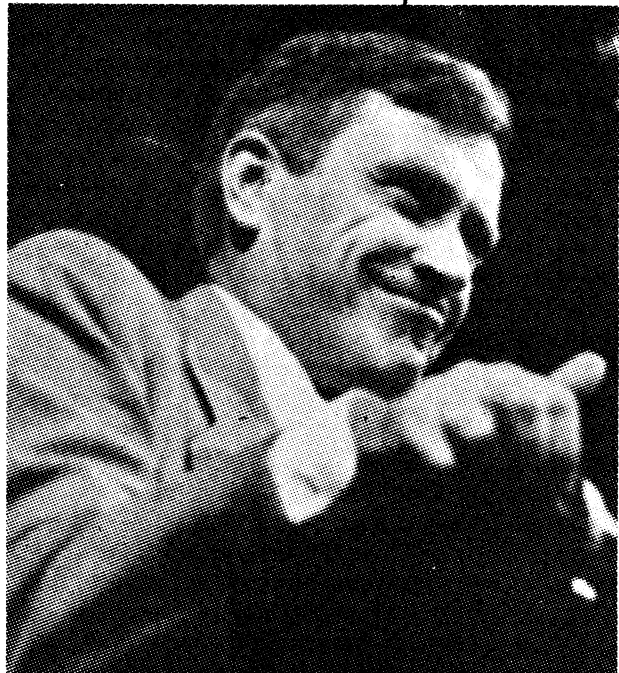
But the CP attacked this sentiment, insisting that "the winning of the war is the primary issue before the Negro people." (*Daily Worker*, June 14, 1942).

The Stalinists even organized a "win-the-war conference" in Harlem on June 28 to counteract the Madison Square Garden rally.

And in case there was still any question about the relative significance of the Black struggle, CP leader James Ford cleared it up in the pamphlet *The War and the Negro People*, published in 1942. He wrote, "Four hundred years of Negro slavery are nothing besides Nazi persecution of Jewish peoples, peoples of the occupied countries, and 'races' of so-called 'inferior' status."

The Stalinists lashed out at any threat to the class harmony in the imperialist countries allied with Moscow. This was the underlying principle of their version of "defending" the Soviet Union.

They attacked not only organized Black protest, but also the spontaneous uprisings against the brutality of white racist oppression. An example of this was their attitude toward the Harlem ghetto uprising in the summer of 1943, which we will take up in our next article.



Communist party chief Earl Browder told Blacks to forget struggle for their rights until after the war.

Outlaw death penalty

Two hundred fifty-three men and women, 60 percent of them Black, are waiting on death row in prisons across the country. On April 21 the U.S. Supreme Court heard arguments on the appeal of one of the 253, a Black man named Jesse Fowler, sentenced to die by a North Carolina court. The lives of all 253 people hang in the balance of the Supreme Court's decision.

In 1972 the Supreme Court ruled that capital punishment, as it was being practiced, constituted "cruel and unusual punishment," which is barred by the Constitution, because it had been applied in an arbitrary, discriminatory manner. Since then, thirty-one states have moved to reinstate the death penalty by making it mandatory for certain crimes or through other legal devices to make it appear unarbitrary.

But the proportion of Blacks on death row—all of them sentenced since 1972 under the new state laws—shows just how discriminatory the death penalty has remained.

The racist character of capital punishment was highlighted in a revealing exchange between Justice Thurgood Marshall, the only Black Supreme Court justice, and North Carolina prosecutor Jean Benoy during the Supreme Court hearing.

The April 22 *New York Times* reported that Marshall "asked how many of [North Carolina's] citizens were black. About 20 percent, Mr. Benoy replied. How many blacks were on Death Row? About 50 per cent, of the total number, came the reply."

"That does not give you a problem?" the Justice asked. Mr. Benoy replied that it did not. . . ."

Marshall asked how many "Negroes" were in the state's criminal justice system, and Benoy said there was "a Negro woman—a Negress" who had been a judge. The *Times* reporter said, "The justice appeared to bristle." Benoy could not recall any Black prosecutors in North Carolina.

The campaign that has been whipped up across the country to reinstitute the death penalty is the work of thoroughly reactionary and racist forces. Many of those involved are the same forces who are campaigning—including the use of violent, hoodlum tactics—against busing to achieve school desegregation, against the women's Equal Rights Amendment, and against the right of women to abortion.

The death penalty is a barbaric weapon of terror that has always been used against the oppressed minorities, poor people, and working people. The drive to reintroduce it must be vigorously opposed.

Dominican invasion

Ten years ago this week, just as he was beginning the massive escalation of the war in Vietnam, Lyndon Johnson ordered 30,000 marines into the Dominican Republic. Johnson used the same pretext now being used by Ford to justify building up an armada of warships off the coast of Vietnam: American lives were said to be in danger.

The U.S. rulers threw away 55,000 American lives in Vietnam—not to mention the millions of Vietnamese lives they snuffed out—without batting an eyelash. They were no more interested in saving American lives in the Dominican Republic than they were in Vietnam.

What Johnson was worried about was the mass uprising against the right-wing dictatorship that began in Santo Domingo on April 24, 1965. Although the leaders of the revolt were only trying to restore the legally elected government of Juan Bosch and the constitution that had won popular approval two years earlier, Washington feared a repetition of the Cuban Revolution.

Thus, U.S. marines occupied the Dominican Republic for the fourth time. The previous occupation, which lasted from 1916 to 1924, was the occasion for Rafael Trujillo—then a procurer of prostitutes for the marines—to make the contacts that enabled him to establish himself as dictator of the Dominican Republic for 31 years.

The 1965 occupation also achieved its purpose. Joaquín Balaguer, one of Trujillo's lieutenants who had been forced out of office by mass strikes and demonstrations in 1961, was reinstated after several thousand Dominicans were killed by the imperialist forces.

Dominican activists in New York City, organized in the Comité Unitario 24 de Abril, are carrying out a number of actions to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the April 24 revolution. Their plans are welcome, both as a reminder of the crimes of the Balaguer regime and its imperialist backers, and also because Washington's actions in the Dominican Republic serve as a warning of what it is threatening to do in Vietnam.

Definite vote

I enjoy the *Militant* very much, and if I receive any money from the streets, I'm going to send you as much as I can. That way I'll be able to pay for my subscription and possibly enable another prisoner to receive your paper.

I'd like to say that if I were able to vote, it would definitely be for Mr. Camejo.

*A prisoner
California*

Unwanted

I heard a story that *Militant* readers, especially those in [New York City's school] District One might like.

This person wakes up in the morning and says to his mother, "I don't want to go to school today."

"You must go."

"I don't want to. They hate me. They laugh at me. They don't want me there."

"But you must go."

"No, no, no."

"But you really must go."

"Why?"

"Because you are the superintendent."

*Michael Smith
New York, New York*

One for

I wish to renew my subscription to the *Militant* for a period of one year.

Congratulations for your continued fine coverage of the important events in the nation and the world.

*L.S.
Pasadena, California*

One against

After reading the *Militant*, I cannot, with any true justification, renew my subscription.

My views on many topics (i.e., abortion) are not represented. Your one-sided journalism is not serving to inform the public but only spread propaganda for the Socialist [Workers] party.

Thank you, but I can *never* subscribe to a "newspaper" that tells me how to think and not what the thoughts of others are. Please *do not* bring around further solicitations for your "Yellow Rag." I'll stick to the *New York Times*.

*M. Diebolt
East Lansing, Michigan*

Gallo boycott

In spite of rain and cold winds, a very enthusiastic crowd of 1,000 United Farm Workers members and sympathizers marched through the streets of San Jose, California, April 5, singing songs and chanting, "Viva la huelga!"

They were marching in support of the UFW effort to clear this city of Gallo wines from both the major and independent retailers of that area.

The three-hour march began and ended with a rally at Guadalupe Church. The rally included speakers from area UFW office directors, who asserted that the growth of the boycott is hurting Gallo sales by more than 20 percent, not to mention the millions of dollars that the company is spending in their national advertisement campaign.

"The boycott is growing stronger every day," said Despie Faush, a UFW organizer, "and we are gonna boycott the hell out of Gallo wines until the company agrees to let its workers have a fair election to decide which union

they want."

Young Socialist Alliance members passed the Bill of Rights for Working People brochures in Spanish among the crowd, who, as soon as they got them, immediately began to read them.

Gallo has so far refused to recognize the UFW as the legitimate representative of the company's workers. Instead, the company has chosen to recognize the Teamsters union by signing "sweetheart" contracts with them behind the workers' backs and without their consent.

The six-year contract with the UFW expired in the summer of 1973, and the workers have been on strike ever since.

*F.S.
San Jose, California*

Troublesome words?

Like many students (and others, of course), I have become disillusioned with American "democracy." Yet a few years back, socialism, Marxism, and particularly communism were almost dirty words. In order for socialism to be integrated into American political thinking, it must become respectable. In other words (for example), the average "hard hat" has to see the paradoxical nature of his right-wing "beliefs."

The connotations of socialism to many people are "un-American." The logic is there, but the support it would seem to naturally gender is not.

Thus it would seem to me that such things as your title (the *Militant* smacks of Black Panthers, or revolution, or riots); headlines of troublesome words like terrorists, rightists, repression, protest; your end-of-the-world-size type on every headline—these things might, rightly or not, scare off Mr. Middle America.

Otherwise, keep it up.

*C. Pearson
Eugene, Oregon*

Disappointed

I was very disappointed with the article by Frank Lovell in the April 4 issue concerning the sick condition of the country's railroads. Instead of a well-researched analysis of the problem, we got a conspiracy theory—"They're really doing great business, but they're lying about it."

Marxists shouldn't deny that some capitalists are indeed ruined in times of economic downturn by other capitalists. While not taking sides we must show how this competition is wasteful and can lead to intensified exploitation of our class when the big fish swallow the smaller ones. The article should've mentioned factors such as old and dangerous roadbeds and tracks. Isn't one of the reasons for the collapse of the railroads in the Northeast the flight of industry from that area over the last few decades?

If the Rock Island does fold, and instead of being nationalized under the control of its work force, it's split up by other, more viable companies, we need to see how we'll then be at the mercy of the big fish that emerge—especially the Union Pacific and Burlington Northern.

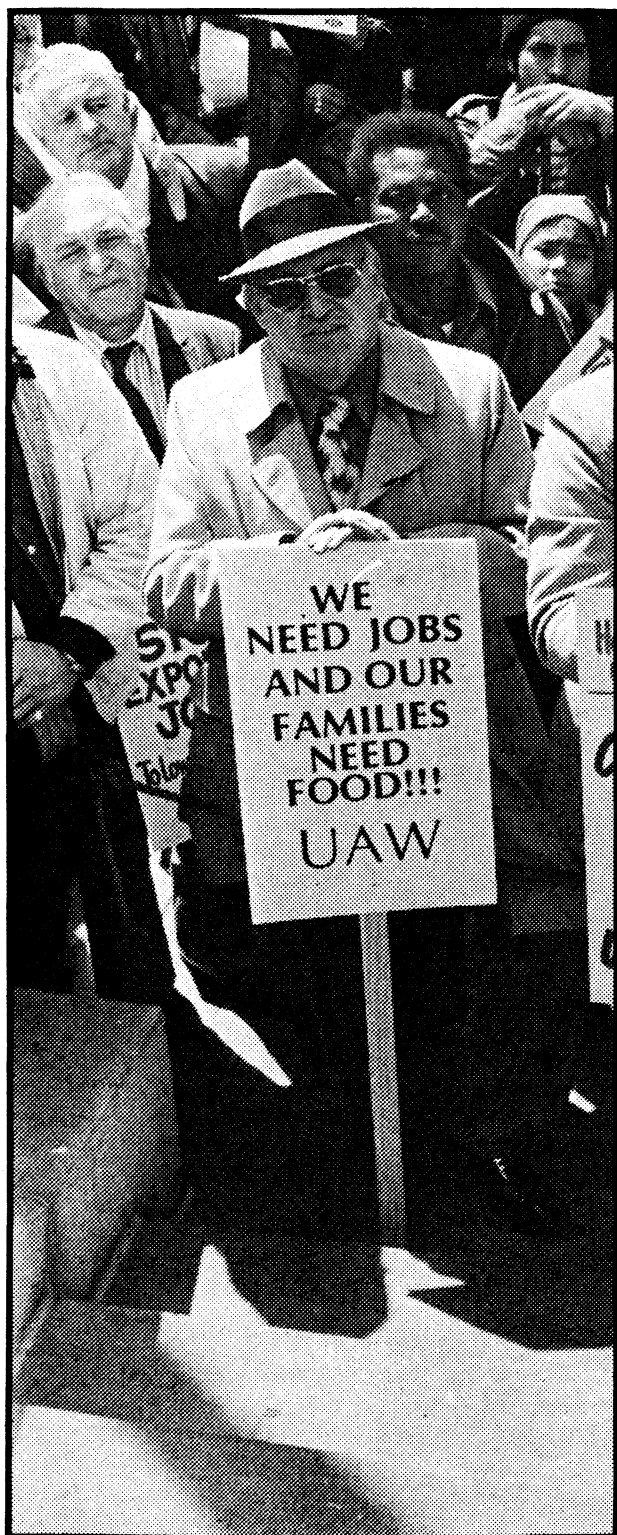
*J.W. Billingsley
Chicago, Illinois*

Not just land

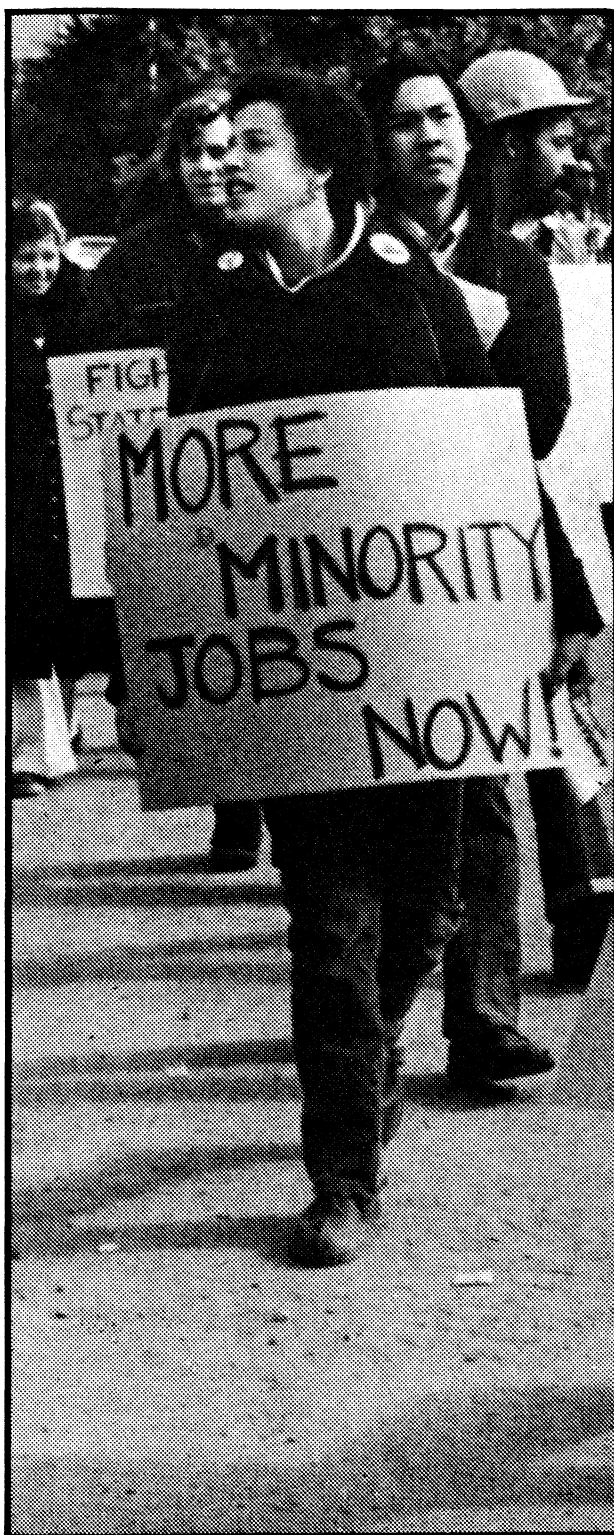
The *Militant* is good for me. I only object to the fact that there is not a section that deals with Native Americans on a regular basis, unless it relates to an occupation or a state and

international **socialist** review

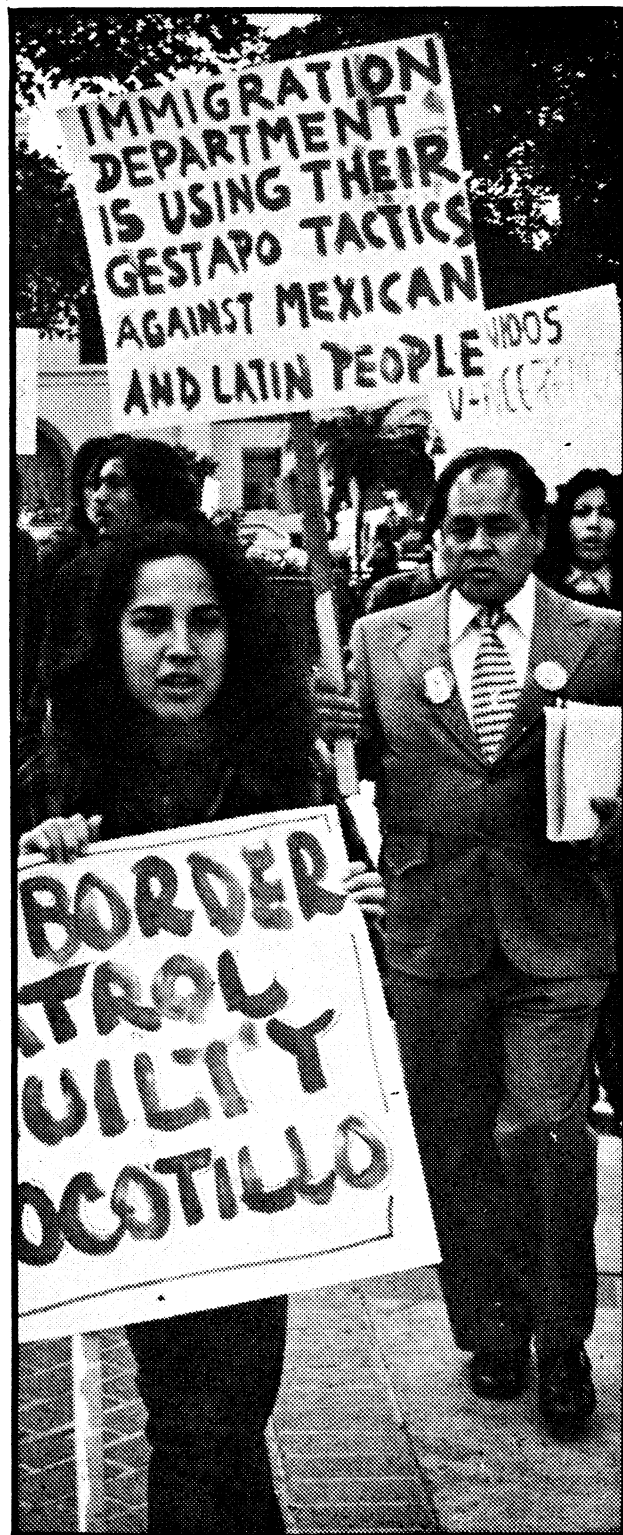
Job Crisis: New Challenge for Unions' **Rodino Bill: Threat to All Workers** **A Telephone Operator Speaks Out**



Harry Ring



Arthur Hughes



Miguel Pendás

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Last month saw the biggest victories for the colonial revolution in Asia since the Chinese Revolution of 1949.

The Cambodian insurgent forces won the unconditional surrender of the proimperialist puppet government headed by Lon Nol. The Vietnamese rebels drove the puppet regime there into a shrinking enclave around Saigon. American military experts and the capitalist media were virtually unanimous in admitting that the insurgents were in a position easily to take Saigon if they wanted to.

The events in Indochina are a sharp setback to the drive for world domination that Washington has pursued since the Second World War, attempting to exert its domination over the former colonial empires of its imperialist rivals through the imposition of subservient regimes backed by U.S. military might.

These events are also a vindication of the efforts of the U.S. antiwar movement and of the revolutionaries who helped build that movement. This movement brought into the picture the mass pressure of the American people, which made it politically impossible for Washington to continue to pay the price required to crush the Vietnamese revolution.

But the outcome of the struggle in Indochina is still not definitely settled. As this is written, behind-the-scenes negotiations are taking place.

Washington is desperately trying to salvage any toehold it can for imperialist control. The U.S. rulers are pressing for a settlement that would at least freeze the present military lines and preserve an enclave around Saigon as an imperialist base.

President Ford, with congressional backing, is threatening a new U.S. military intervention on the pretext of evacuating Americans from Saigon. With this threat, the U.S. rulers are testing, step by step, to see how far they can go without provoking renewed massive protest and counterpressure from the antiwar majority of the American people.

At the same time, Ford and Kissinger have sent out warnings to Moscow and Peking, threatening that détente will be endangered if they don't use their influence to put a brake on a clean sweep by the Vietnamese.

This was the meaning of Kissinger's threat on April 17: "We shall not forget who supplied the arms which North Vietnam used to make

a mockery of its signature on the Paris accords."

Both Moscow and Peking have demonstrated throughout the Vietnam War that concessions from Washington, and factional conflicts between themselves, are more important to them than the fate of the Vietnamese revolution. In commenting on the situation in Vietnam, representatives of the Kremlin have studiously avoided attacking Washington for its support to the Saigon regime and have stressed that the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam aims to carry out the provisions of the 1973 Paris accords calling for sharing power between the PRG, the Saigon regime, and "neutrals."

There is another force, however, that will come into play in shaping the final outcome of the new stage of the struggle in Indochina. That is the masses of peasants and workers of Vietnam and Cambodia, whose hopes have been raised for fundamental improvements in their daily lives. They have been the backbone of the decades-long, irrepressible struggle in Indochina. They want distribution of the land of the big landlords, democratic rights, an end to imperialist exploitation, and a decent life for workers in the cities.

If the masses of Vietnamese and Cambodians come onto the stage in sufficient force, they can make irrelevant the calculations of those who are now trying to negotiate the future of these countries—Washington, Moscow, and Peking. Under the favorable relationship of forces and the momentum of the recent victories, the Stalinist and nationalist rebel leaderships in South Vietnam and Cambodia may be unable to adhere to their program of maintaining capitalism.

The demands of the American people in this critical situation must be: Stop U.S. aid to Saigon! Withdraw all U.S. "advisers" to the Saigon regime! No GIs to Vietnam! Vietnam for the Vietnamese!

The factors holding back the U.S. rulers from more direct aggression in Indochina are symbolized by the enthusiastic support and buildup for the April 26 Rally for Jobs Now in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department. This mass action will be a forceful reminder to the U.S. ruling class that the American people have other priorities than wasting more billions of dollars to prop up corrupt dictatorships in Southeast Asia.

The April 26 demonstration signals a new level of combativity among American working people.

The AFL-CIO, the largest organization of the American working class, is so conservatized that it has not called a single national mass action since the close of World War II. The national AFL-CIO took no part in the civil

rights or antiwar movements of the 1960s. The fact that it called for the April 26 rally in the national capital is a dramatic indication of the turbulent pressures from rank-and-file unionists demanding action.

Indeed the response to the call from union ranks quickly overflowed the framework set by the organizers. Reports from around the country show that there were long waiting lists of working people who wanted to go to Washington on the too few union buses and chartered planes.

Many unionists will see from the success of April 26 the potential for building even more powerful mass protests if the unions throw their full forces into them and make it possible for all unionists and their allies to participate. April 26 is the opening of a new stage of the class struggle, in which the working class is beginning to seek independent forms of action in defense of its living standards.

Many participants in the April 26 demonstration will be urging protesters to come out again into the streets for another mass action for social justice: the May 17 march on Boston for school desegregation called by the NAACP.

The NAACP march is further evidence of the mounting unrest in this country, especially among Black people. The NAACP—well known in the Black community for its leadership role in fighting racist oppression through the courts—has not played a leading role in mass mobilizations since the 1963 March on Washington for civil rights. The impetus for its call for May 17 has come from the growing realization among Black people that the rise of racist lynch mobs in defense of segregation in Boston must not go unanswered. Further impulsion came from the initiative taken by the students organized in the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

The two actions, April 26 and May 17, are interlinked. For example, the NAACP in Newark, where there is one of the highest Black unemployment rates in the country, readily gave its support to the April 26 rally. And among the most militant protesters in Washington will be Black workers, who will also be interested in bringing the power of their unions to bear against the racist, reactionary antibusing campaign centered in Boston.

The consecutive actions on April 26 and May 17 constitute a two-fisted spring offensive against the schemes of the racist, warmongering friends of big business in Washington and local governments across the country.

After April 26—on to Boston!

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Editor: Caroline Lund

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Tom O'Brien

Job Crisis: New Challenge for Unions

By Frank Lovell

The following article is based on a talk prepared by Frank Lovell, labor columnist for the Militant, to be given at the Annual Spring Conference of the Union Leadership Academy of Western Pennsylvania. The theme of the gathering, held at Pennsylvania State University in Pittsburgh, was "Issues Facing Union Members Today." Specific topics up for discussion were: "Layoffs; Seniority, men vs. women; Public vs. Private Sector; and Labor Party."

The Union Leadership Academy of Western Pennsylvania is sponsored by Pennsylvania State University's Department of Labor Studies, which operates in conjunction with the AFL-CIO state labor councils of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and New Jersey.

There are eleven million workers in this country without full-time employment, according to government figures. This estimate does not take into account those in the Black communities and barrios of the big cities who are classified as "hard core" unemployed, nor the young men and women who are just entering the labor market and have never had a chance to work.

Almost one-quarter of the 1.5 million members of the United Auto Workers union are out of work. These unemployed auto workers were all on the job one year ago. Most of them had been employed from one to five years, with many others having ten to fifteen years' seniority.

None of the approximately 300,000 jobless auto workers are paying dues to the UAW anymore, but nearly all of them look to the union to do something for them.

The same is true for other unions that have been hit hard by the layoffs—in the electrical industry, the teachers unions, the hospital workers unions, the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the Service Employees International Union, and the building-trades unions, which are hit hardest of all.

What are these unions doing to help their unemployed members, or former members? What can they do?

About a year and a half ago a reporter for the *Minneapolis Star* conducted a very limited survey on this question. He went around to some union officials in that city and asked what they were doing about unemployment. The answer he got in every case was another question: "What can I do?"

This reflected the general attitude of the union movement at the time. Unions are not organized to create jobs, it was thought. They are organized to protect the working conditions and raise the real wages of workers who have jobs.

This kind of complacent thinking has almost disappeared during the past year as the unemployment figures have risen.

The unions are beginning to do something about layoffs. Not much as yet, but more than they have done for the past quarter century. Not since the 1945-1946 strike wave has there been anything like the unrest and demonstrations that are going on right now.

On February 5 the UAW held an unemployed conference of 10,000 in Washington. UAW President Leonard Woodcock promised there that if nothing were done to create jobs "by spring," UAW workers would return to the capitol a quarter-million strong.

Demonstrations demanding jobs have been held in Sacramento and Los Angeles, California; in New York City; and in Chicago; as well as the largest one to date, the April 26 Rally for Jobs in Washington.

Working people are in a very different position today than in the early days of the depression of the 1930s. The union movement then was weak—only about two million members. The mass of workers in basic industry were not organized. Developments today—based on the strength of the modern unions, and drawing upon the experience and lessons of the 1930s—can unfold very rapidly.

What are some of the issues confronting unionists today as they try to come to grips with the current job crisis?

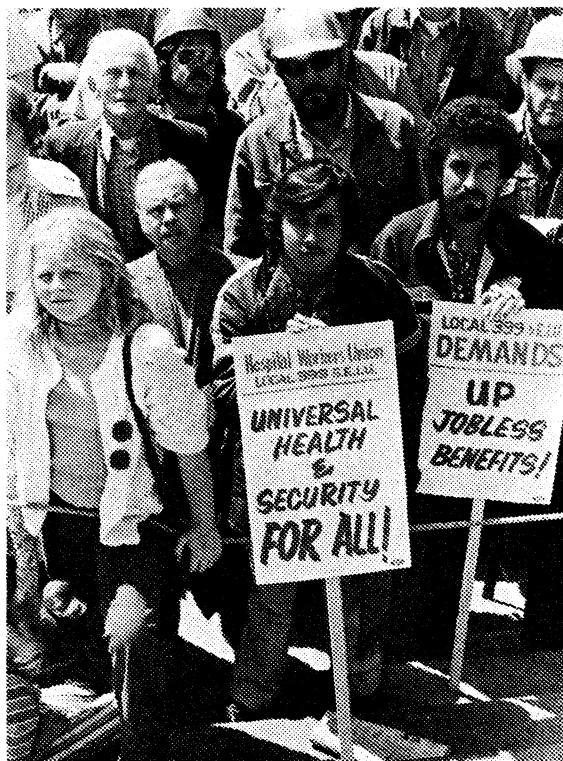
In the fight for jobs, one of the main problems facing the unions is to forge unity among workers. With fewer jobs available, the employers are better able to foster divisions among the working class and use them to their own advantage. These divisions include those between Blacks and other minorities, and whites; between skilled and unskilled; between regions, such as the North and the South; between employed and unemployed; between women and men; between organized and unorganized; between citizen and noncitizen.

In general, the bosses today are taking a tougher attitude. If a worker is dissatisfied and complains about new speedup rules, the employer might say, "Why don't you quit; there are plenty of others looking for work." If a local union votes to strike over local grievances, the company representatives may say, "Go ahead; the home office has been thinking about closing this plant anyway."

These are the general circumstances in which the announcements of layoffs seem to come almost daily.

Just as in periods of expansion when new workers are being hired, so in these times of mass layoffs, the employers find ways of hiring those they want—and discriminating against those they don't want, especially Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and women.

With the rise of the Black struggle in the 1960s, the



Harry Ring

federal government was forced to pass the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Title VII of that act bars employers of fifteen or more people from discriminating on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, or sex, except where sex is a "bona fide occupational qualification"—whatever that is.

This law has never been fully enforced. But it was endorsed by the union movement and has served to strengthen the working class by making illegal the discriminatory hiring practices of the bosses.

With the rise of the women's movement for equal rights near the end of the 1960s—encouraged certainly by the earlier Black civil rights movement—women also began to demand equal pay and equal opportunities.

A series of lawsuits forced such giant corporations as American Telephone and Telegraph to pay millions of dollars in back pay to women who had been discriminated against in wage rates.

The steel industry was forced to pay Black workers wages they were cheated out of because of their segregation into special departments of work.

These struggles forced the employers to revise their hiring practices, and in the past few years Blacks and other minority workers, and women, won entrance into some jobs where they had previously been excluded. This was something new, and a gain for the unions.

However, one general result of the present mass layoffs is that those Black and women workers who are among the most recently hired because of the gains made by the civil rights movement have been the first laid off. Some of these workers have filed court actions to regain their jobs.

This situation has led to an important debate over whether the fight against discriminatory hiring cuts across the gains made by the unions years ago in the form of seniority rights.

In the past, many unions fought for and won seniority rights in order to protect their members, especially those who would not curry favor with the boss. This prevented the employers from picking and choosing those to be fired or laid off in slack times. If the boss wanted to get rid of someone considered to be a "troublemaker"—most often a union leader in the shop—he had to find "just cause" or lay off others with less seniority first.

The employers always found ways of circumventing seniority rights, of course, but it usually worked to prevent individual victimization. It also served as a general guideline for temporary layoffs, vacation periods, pension benefits, and similar matters. It came to be recognized by unionists as "the most fair way. . . ."

But this doesn't apply very well when tens of thousands are being laid off. There is nothing "fair" about these layoffs. Whole departments close down; plants employing thousands are shut. And those hit the worst are the Blacks, other oppressed minorities, and women.

In the case of Jersey Central Power & Light Company, which laid off about 400 of its 3,850 workers, a U.S. district court judge ordered the company to reduce its work force in such a way that would not disproportionately victimize the newly hired minorities and women.

In other words, two categories of workers would be recognized—those hired as a result of recent court-ordered affirmative actions, and those previously hired

under discriminatory company practices. If the total work force were to be reduced by one-tenth, then one of every ten workers in each group would be laid off in line of group seniority.

This ruling was overturned last January by an appeals court in Philadelphia, but it points the way to possible solutions that would protect both the principle of seniority rights and the rights of the workers most discriminated against by the bosses.

It is short-sighted as well as unjust for any union to insist that the last hired be the first fired in the face of the present mass layoffs. There is no prospect of being rehired soon. These are not temporary layoffs. No worker's job is secure. Especially under these circumstances, seniority is a very thin reed to cling to.

Breaking through the barriers of discrimination at the employment desk was not easy, and those who have managed to find jobs under the affirmative-action programs ought not to be the first victims of the

'The best protection against layoffs is that which protects the most vulnerable workers, such as women and the oppressed minorities.'

depression. The unions can find ways, as they have in the past, to protect these gains while fighting for new ground. The vast majority of workers will be able to understand that the best protection for all is that which protects the most vulnerable—the original purpose of seniority rights.

Something of the same thing is involved in the divisions that have existed between workers in the public and private sectors.

Most workers in the public sector have in the past thought their jobs were secure because of Civil Service. This is no longer true. Civil servants are threatened with layoffs.

In New York State, 40,000 state employees demonstrated at the capitol in Albany on March 18, protesting the decline in their real wages and projected layoffs by the state. Sponsored by the 147,000-member Civil Service Employees Association, the action was a sign of the new mood among public employees.

What is happening in New York is not unique. The same thing is happening in most other states, and will produce similar results.

Government workers who are being fired, or will be fired, may get jobs in some of the limited federal emergency jobs programs that are being devised. In fact, some may be put back to work *doing about the same kind of job they were doing before*. But with one difference: they won't be working in the Civil Service program and won't have any of its benefits, including wage and salary classifications. Their wages, in many instances, will be as little as half of Civil Service pay.

Workers in private industry face a similar perspective, if they are lucky enough to get one of the federal jobs. Public and private industry workers find themselves in the same boat, and will benefit from united action demanding jobs.

Prompted by the mass layoffs, the unions are beginning, for the first time since the 1930s, to raise the demand "Jobs for all." Now, as in the 1930s, there seems to be no prospect of either private industry or the government rehiring the millions who find themselves out of work.

So the unions must find ways to create jobs. This would be easily possible by reducing the hours of work—from forty per week to thirty—with no reduction in take-home pay; in conjunction with a massive public works program employing millions at union wages to rebuild this country.

The AFL-CIO has proposed a six-point program "to put America back to work." Addressed to Congress, it includes demands for "immediate, massive federal efforts to create jobs for the unemployed," and "immediate government assistance to the unemployed to minimize their hardships." In addition, the AFL-CIO has formally called for a thirty-five-hour workweek, and some unions are asking for thirty-two hours.

At a demonstration for jobs at the California state capitol last month, John Henning, secretary-treasurer of the state AFL-CIO, said that the private sector of industry has proved incapable of producing for the needs of the people and that it is necessary for the government to put the unemployed back to work and provide services and produce for the needs of society.

These are good ideas and demands. The question is how to achieve them.

First, of all, it is clear from the present crisis that workers cannot depend on the Democratic or Republican politicians in Congress or the White House to bring about any major changes to the benefit of working

people. Just as in the 1930s, it will take massive independent action—marches, sit-ins, strikes—by the workers themselves and by the unemployed to force the government to grant such demands.

The April 26 demonstration in Washington is an example of what is needed. The enthusiasm that built up among rank-and-file union members for this demonstration was an indication of the new mood that is taking hold and a sign of the potential response for future labor mass actions.

Such protests are effective in giving union members a sense of their own power. They are effective in projecting a new image of the union movement to society as a whole, as the leading force fighting back against the effects of the economic crisis on working people and their families. It is not only union members who are wondering what can be done about the deteriorating quality of life today. By organizing mass actions, the labor movement can attract allies from many other sections of the population and become the leadership of still more powerful forces than its own membership.

Secondly, the current economic crisis is bringing greater and greater recognition that the major problems plaguing the working class—unemployment and runaway prices, the declining standard of living, and the deteriorating quality of life—are problems requiring political solutions. They are problems that cannot be resolved at the bargaining table between employers and unions, but require government action.

A prime example is the question of war and military spending. The \$100 billion military budget, and the \$400 billion spent by Washington on the hated Vietnam War, have nothing to do with the interests of working people in this country. In fact, the huge military budget was responsible for triggering the inflation spiral at the end of the 1960s.

There are certainly few unemployed workers who could feel much sympathy with President Ford's request for \$1 billion for more bombs for Indochina while millions of families in this country have been hit by the economic catastrophe of unemployment.

The unions need a new program to unite all sections of the working class in combating the attempts of both the employers and the government to make workers suffer from the problems of this capitalist system. A leadership that sits back and leaves the fate of the workers and unemployed in the hands of the Democratic and Republican politicians cannot defend past gains of the unions, and will suffer defeats at the hands of the employers.

The workers and their unions need their own political party—a labor party based on the union movement.

More and more working people are fed up with both capitalist parties, but they see no alternative. The unions are an organized power that could be the base for such an alternative political force. And there are signs that some unionists are beginning to realize this.

In West Virginia last November two coal miners were elected to local office, one a county constable, the other

a state legislator. They couldn't get anywhere in the local Democratic party, so they ran as independents—in one case as a write-in candidate—with the full support of the Coal Miners Political Action Committee (COMPAC).

The *United Mine Workers Journal* says:

"With Burleson helping to write laws in the legislature and Ross helping to enforce them at the local level, the two men are part of a small but important step forward for coal miners in the drive to 'take the law into our own hands.'"

The employers have had the law in their hands for a very long time, and they have used it to abuse the vast majority of people. It is about time that working people organize to make and enforce some laws assuring healthful working conditions in this country.

Charlie Ross, who is the new county constable in Wyoming County, West Virginia, said one of the biggest problems they had in their campaign was to

'The economic crisis is bringing greater recognition that the problems plaguing the working class require political solutions.'

convince union men and women—coal miners, teachers, railroad workers, and others—that they could win.

"They've had it beat into them for so long that the companies have control," Ross says, "that they didn't believe we could really do it."

"But look, the coal operators don't have any votes. All they have is money, and with some organization we can overcome that."

The same is true on a national scale. Those who profit from the capitalist system—which created this crisis—are very few. The rest of us, who work for them, are the vast majority. The embryos for building a labor party already exist in the various political action units of the union movement—such as the United Mine Workers' COMPAC, the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, the Teamsters' Drive, and the UAW's Community Action Program.

Today there is persistent talk by some older unionists about the need for a labor party, harking back to the 1930s and 1940s, when UAW leaders, including Leonard Woodcock, and most of the big locals of the UAW, favored the formation of a labor party.

Then in the period after World War II, when the economy was expanding, Walter Reuther and his supporters, who had previously endorsed the call for a labor party, began to argue that "now is not the time." It is necessary to try to reform the Democratic party, they said, and if that fails, we can form our own party.

Some unionists have begun to say that now *is* the time. For example, a former leader (now retired) of the UAW in Detroit, John Anderson, has circulated an "open letter to UAW President Leonard Woodcock," in which he says, in part:

"As one of those who suffered through the depression of the thirties I appeal to you in behalf of the unemployed in the auto industry today. . . .

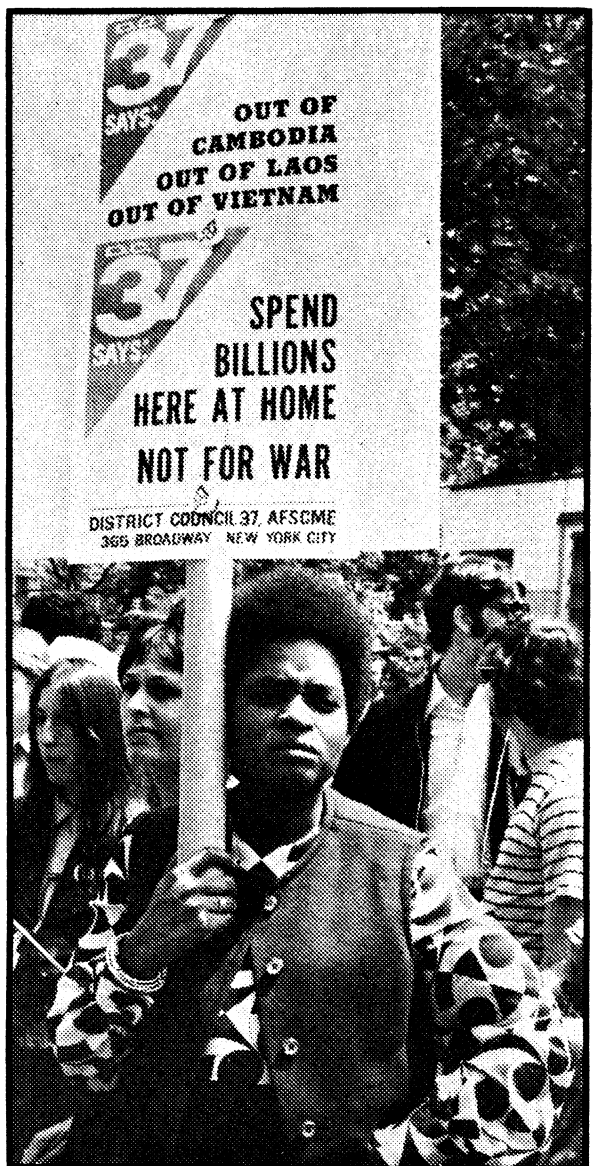
"It is a known fact that the loss of a job is next to losing their life in the minds of many workers. Some take their lives because of despair resulting from being unemployed. Unemployment causes the breaking up of homes; workers turn to drink or drugs to forget their problems. They become accident prone. They become ill, emotionally and physically. Some turn to crime. We must do something to alleviate this great human tragedy. . . .

"I appeal to you to open our union for free political discussion such as we had in the early years of our Union. Instruct the Local Union officers to call meetings to deal with the many problems of the unemployed. . . .

"I know that you at one time like Emil Mazey and the late Walter Reuther gave support to the idea of a labor party. Walter repeatedly promised the UAW membership that he would lead a movement in support of a labor party. You have recently expressed your disappointment with the Democrats in Congress. The majority of the American people have lost faith in the Republican and the Democratic Parties.

"Why don't you establish yourself as a leader of American labor by attempting to bring to fruition Walter Reuther's promises to the auto workers for an American labor party? Only such a bold move on the part of the UAW leadership can give to the employed and unemployed hope for a solution to our political and economic problems. . . ."

Sentiments such as these expressed by John Anderson will be fed by the economic and political crisis and by the failure of the Democratic party to respond to the elementary needs of the union movement.



Howard Petrick

Rodino Bill: Threat to All Workers

By Cindy Jaquith

As unemployment figures continue their upward climb, there are growing attempts to blame scapegoats for the economic crisis, to divert the attention of working people from the real causes. Chief among the victims are the noncitizen workers without the proper papers.

Ninety percent of the estimated six to eight million immigrant workers in this country are Mexicans. Others come from Latin America, Europe, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the Philippines.

These workers come here hoping to escape the misery of economic conditions in their own country. Here they are forced into the most menial, low-paying jobs. Bosses can get away with paying them substandard wages and demanding long hours because the workers cannot fight back for fear of deportation.

The employers work hand in glove with the Immigration Service, turning on and off the flow of "illegals" as the job market fluctuates. If the employer needs to round up scabs, or if there is a harvest coming up, the Border Patrol cops look the other way, allowing thousands of undocumented workers into the country. But when the boss wants to get rid of these workers—often without paying them what they have earned—a quick call to Immigration guarantees a raid and the deportation of those without papers.

Dragnet hunts by *la migra*, particularly in Latino communities, have been used to further whip up anti-"illegal" sentiment and to terrorize anyone with a brown skin or an accent.

In Congress, the campaign against undocumented workers is taking shape in the form of several bills, particularly one submitted by Rep. Peter Rodino (D-N.J.). In both 1972 and 1973 this bill passed in the House but was killed in the Senate. This year it will hit the floor in the context of a stepped-up racist drive against the "illegals" that is being echoed not only by the White House but by leaders of the major trade unions as well.

The main parts of the Rodino bill are as follows:

- Employers who "knowingly" hire an "illegal alien" will first receive a citation; then a \$500 fine for each "illegal" on the second offense; and a \$1,000 fine per "illegal" or a maximum of one year in jail for the third offense.
- Employees of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare must turn over the names and addresses of "illegals" receiving public assistance.
- Any worker caught using false papers will be fined a maximum of \$2,000 and/or a maximum jail term of five years.
- The attorney general will issue citizenship identification papers for employers' use.

The first point in Rodino's bill—the only point generally publicized—is a sham. It is well-known that the cops assigned to issue these "citations" are getting their pockets lined by the very same employers they are supposed to be investigating. The real intent of the bill is not to penalize employers but to intensify the attacks on undocumented workers, and on the working class as a whole.

If passed, the bill would be the launching pad for new dragnet sweeps in the barrios, for lopping off thousands of families from welfare rolls, and for requiring—for the first time in U.S. history—an internal passport system.

Those who should be championing

Cindy Jaquith heads the Washington Bureau of the Militant.

the rights of undocumented workers—the trade-union officials—have shamelessly parroted the most reactionary attacks on these workers. The AFL-CIO officialdom, in particular, has campaigned for the Rodino bill for several years.

Testifying before the House immigration subcommittee, AFL-CIO legislative director Andrew Biemiller charged that "all too many illegal aliens . . . end up on relief and become a burden on the community in terms of medical care and other social services."

"The net effect of the illegal's presence in the job market," he said, "has been to depress and maintain low wage levels and substandard living conditions. . . ."

This is only true to the extent that the unions have been unwilling to organize and fight for the rights of these workers. Whenever the bosses are allowed to get away with stigmatizing a section of the working class as pariahs, as expendable, as undeserving of equal rights—this does weaken the labor movement as a whole and help depress wages. This is just as true regarding discrimination against Black people and women. The answer is not to try to

shut these workers out of the labor movement, but to treat attacks on them for what they are: attacks on the entire working class.

The AFL-CIO bureaucrats' attacks on "illegals" are a cover for their own unwillingness to defend the jobs and standards of living of their members. Their railings against "foreigners" have become all the more shrill as their own betrayal of working people's interests becomes clearer.

Unfortunately, these same reactionary arguments have been voiced by representatives of the United Farm Workers. Last summer UFW President César Chávez began appealing to *la migra* to deport all "illegal aliens," going so far as to offer the names and addresses of suspected "illegals."

According to UFW Secretary-Treasurer Gilbert Padilla, the union still stands by this position. The UFW is not supporting the Rodino bill, however, because it has "no teeth in it," he said.

The UFW's official position on "illegal aliens" has drawn strong criticism from some of the farm workers' firmest allies, especially in the Chicano communities.

The following article, headline, and illustration are reprinted from the April 1975 issue of 1199 News, magazine of District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees. We are printing it as one of the all-too-few examples of unions standing up for the rights of undocumented workers, the most downtrodden section of the working class.

Congress, the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the press have joined in a massive campaign to place the blame for the current economic disaster on the shoulders of aliens, living and working illegally in the United States.

Sensational press stories in recent weeks have painted a scare picture of millions of illegal aliens flooding the country to take jobs away from American workers. Typical headlines have been those of the New York Daily News dealing with the job picture in New York: "100,000 Illegal Aliens—Job and Tax Robbers," or that of the New York Times: "Unlawful Aliens Use Costly City Services."

The number of illegal aliens has been variously estimated at six to seven million up to ten million. They are concentrated in large urban communities, in Florida and in areas of Texas and Southern California adjacent to the Mexican border. The overwhelming majority have fled intolerable living conditions in the Caribbean and Central and South America. It is estimated that 1½ million live in New York.

Living in fear of exposure and deportation, aliens can find only the lowest paid work. They fill the vacuum at the bottom of the labor market, working in dead-end jobs in textiles, shoes and tanning, small novelty manufacturing; sewing in garment factories; and working in restaurants, hotels and laundries. A 1973 amendment to the Social Security law precludes nonresidents who are not authorized to work from getting Social Security cards.

Though taxes are withheld from their wages, they are ineligible for unemployment insurance, Social Security benefits, welfare assistance, all of which entails a scrutiny they must shrink from. Playing on the alien's need of a job and his or her fear of exposure, employer exploitation is merciless.

While it is difficult to estimate the number of illegal aliens working in hospitals, a number of organized institutions are known to pursue a policy of recruiting workers in Haiti, the Dominican Republic and other Caribbean countries, and the Philippines. These workers encourage friends and relatives back home to join them. Entering the country illegally, these too are put on the payroll.

"Let's place the blame for unemployment where it belongs," 1199 Pres. Léon J. Davis said recently. "Most of these people have been imported to this country by employers who wanted a cheap labor force. The aliens are the victims, not the villains in this situation. Responsibility for joblessness rests with the Nixon-Ford Administrations. The only jobs foreign-born workers can get are under the counter deals. Let's not make them the scapegoats."

Legislation to curb hiring of illegal aliens has been introduced in Congress by Rep. Peter W. Rodino, New Jersey Democrat. The measure, HR 982, would make employers criminally liable for knowingly hiring an illegal alien. The bill, scored by civil rights groups as an "unenforceable hoax," has the endorsement of the AFL-CIO, whose legislative director, Andrew J. Biemiller, told a House Judiciary subcommittee hearing that employment of illegal aliens adds to the joblessness of citizens and pulls down wages for all workers in the community.

Roman Catholic leaders, opposing the Rodino bill, contend that imposing sanctions against employers who hire illegal aliens would promote discrimination against Hispanic people. Testifying at the Judiciary subcommittee, Monsignor George C. Higgins, research secretary of the United States Catholic Conference, urged legislation providing amnesty for all illegal aliens here.

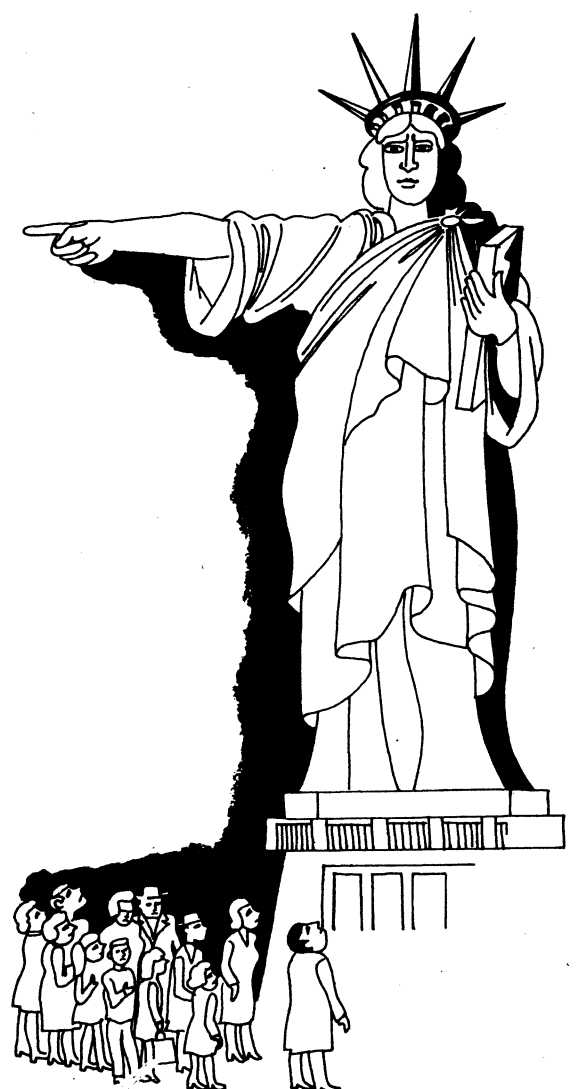
When Socialist Workers party presidential candidate Peter Camejo addressed a meeting of UFW members in San Juan, Texas, recently, he received an ovation for his statements in defense of "illegal aliens."

"Socialists oppose the racist Rodino bill and any other laws that deny full civil rights to immigrant workers," says Camejo. "The 'illegal alien' scare is a maneuver to keep American workers divided from their sister and brother workers in other countries at a time when we need a united struggle to win jobs for all at decent pay."

"These workers have the right to jobs at union wages, the right to send their children to any school, and the right to social services like welfare and hospital care."

"In a socialist society, we would do away with border passes and artificial boundaries, which only make it easier for a tiny minority to make profits. Human beings would no longer be judged by whether they have a passport, or an accent, or by the color of their skin."

Blaming the Victims



1199 News

'To Myself, so I'll Never Forget...'

A Telephone Operator Speaks Out

The January 24 issue of the *Militant* carried an interview by Rachel Towne with Dennis Serrette, vice-president of Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 1101 in New York, on the conditions of labor for telephone workers. He termed the Bell System's treatment of operators as "one of the most brutal examples of almost slave labor you could ever see anywhere."

A *Militant* reader in Cincinnati, Ohio, who is a former telephone operator, wrote to the *Militant*: "I haven't seen many articles that tell people the dirty truth about the way operators are treated the way yours did. CWA needs more Dennis Serrettes."

The reader—who wishes to remain anonymous from Ma Bell—worked for the Cincinnati Bell telephone company for more than four years, quitting in 1973. A year ago she decided to write down what it was like to be an operator. The following are major excerpts from her description, accompanied by her own drawings.

The conditions she tells of still exist. Dennis Serrette told the *Militant* recently that in New York three operators have died of sicknesses over the past year—two on the job and one when she got home from work—because they were prevented from going home when they were ill.

To Debbie, whose husband couldn't see why she couldn't talk straight, and why she was always tired, when she just sat and talked on the phone all day.

To myself, so I never forget.

Most of the time the only job the telephone company had open for women was operator. The company gave the women it was hiring three hours of memory tests. Then it fingerprinted us and made a date to visit our homes.

When the supervisor got to an operator's home, her cab waited and she talked about the weather and cooking. The employment office told us the company had to visit our homes to see if we would fit in with the other girls at

the telephone company and to talk to our parents.

On a list outside the door to our switchboard office the company posted each operator's position for the day. Our office had five switchboards with thirty positions on each side of them. The positions were like little stalls, separated by transparent plastic partitions. We sat in long rows, about a foot apart from each other. We had barely enough room to move our arms and to write.

Service assistants—the company called them SAs (pronounced like essays)—sat at desks in the middle of the office to answer rings from the operators. Other SAs walked the floor, scrutinizing us.

Group chief operators, GCOs, stood around looking over the office. Group chief operators and the chief operator had titles with the word "operator" in them, but they never sat at the board. The chief operator had little to do with us. If she summoned an operator, we all wanted to know what kind of trouble the operator was in.

Our chairs twisted up and down, but they wore out and the company fixed them so they stayed high and wouldn't twist down. We sat for hours with our feet dangling. The company let us work standing up for only five minutes at a time. Nobody really got that long because only one operator was allowed to stand at a time. We cheated on each other to get to stand up. We stood up when we knew others had been standing only a minute, and the supervisors told whoever they saw first to sit down.

We could leave our seats to get drinks and that was all. We had to ring for SAs to bring us pencils, paper, tissues, and headache pills. If we got too many drinks, supervisors asked us what the problem was that we were out of our seats so often.

We stuck folded tissues between our headsets and our heads to soften the pressure of the headsets' metal wires. There was a one-ounce headset, but we still had to use the eight-ounce headsets. Two or three operators a year who were photographed for company advertising got to wear the one-ounce head-

sets for the photographs.

Many operators swallowed ten or twelve aspirins every day. They took prescription drugs for nerves too. We got sick headaches from the work and throbbing at the temples from the headsets. Lots of operators took tranquilizers, suffered from circulatory diseases, and broke out in hives at the board.

Our office smelled like feet and sweat; it made operators gag. Every four or five months the company sprayed with disinfectant. Where the directories lay in the positions, skin oils, makeup, and grime piled up in a thick layer.

A couple of times a year, if the calls were coming slow, a supervisor handed an operator the rag and a bottle of cleaner to go around and clean positions till the calls picked up, maybe five or ten minutes. These were the only times the positions ever got cleaned.

When the boards slowed, SAs also selected a couple of us to pick up the snotty tissues and paper stuffed in the nooks of the positions. They didn't let us pick up the trash to do us any favors. The calls had to keep coming at a certain speed, so when they got slowed, one or two of us had to be removed to keep the calls coming fast for the other operators.

The company put garbage cans in our office, but no place for trash at the positions. SAs told operators who got up to go to the trash can to get back in their seats. Although the company replaced the directories every two weeks for changes, they became so smeared with makeup and mucus that we could see through the pages.

Lights in black boxes on the wall lit up for every call. An operator could make the calls at her position stop if she unplugged her headset cord from the jack, and also if she flipped a switch but stayed plugged into the jack. A supervisor just had to look at the black boxes to know if any operator in the office was unplugged or had her switch down.

From their desks, SAs and GCOs could tell at any time how many seconds an operator spent on a call and how many calls she took in an hour. Once a month, when the operator didn't know it, these machines totaled the number of calls an operator took in an hour. SAs put the total in the operator's record.

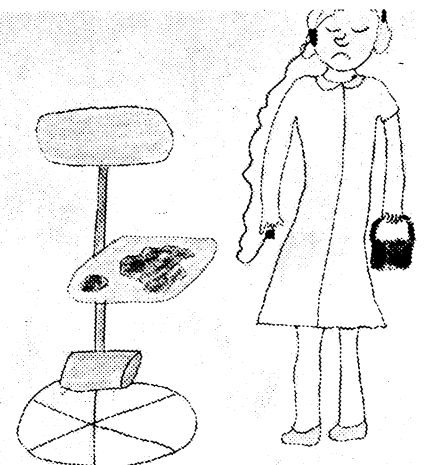
Our directory had smaller and closer-together print than did the customers' directory. Every day the company gave us a new numbers section, the addenda, and when we didn't find numbers in the directory we looked in the addenda. Looking in the addenda was easier because the addenda was short, but looking under several spellings took time. This searching ruined operators' eyesight. Eighteen-year-old operators who had perfect vision when they were hired needed glasses after a few months at the board.

We had to sit on chairs stained with pee. Some had more than one pee stain, one on top of another or two or more separate pee stains. The stains came from all the operators who got bladder infections from day after day of waiting an hour, and many times more than two hours, to go to the ladies' room. The company never cleaned the chairs, so we just had to keep sitting on them. When an operator got home, her clothes smelled of pee from these chairs. We called them the pee chairs.

The company let only one operator at

a time from a board go to the ladies' room. At the end of each board, on top of it, was a box decorated for the season of the year. A long-stemmed plastic flower was next to it. One summer the company put up a drawing of a toilet on the box for all visitors, repairmen, or whoever to see as they entered our office. When an operator got excused, she had to sign her name and the time on the sign-out sheet, put the plastic flower in the box, then leave for three to five minutes. When she returned, she took the flower down and signed in the time on the way to her position.

To get signed out for an emergency, an operator had to explain whether the emergency was diarrhea, or waiting too long, or her period. One operator who asked to leave because of her period was asked, "Wasn't your period last week, honey?" Another one's bra strap broke and the GCO told her to wait till



'We had to sit on chairs stained with pee. The stains came from operators who got bladder infections from waiting hours to go to the ladies' room.'

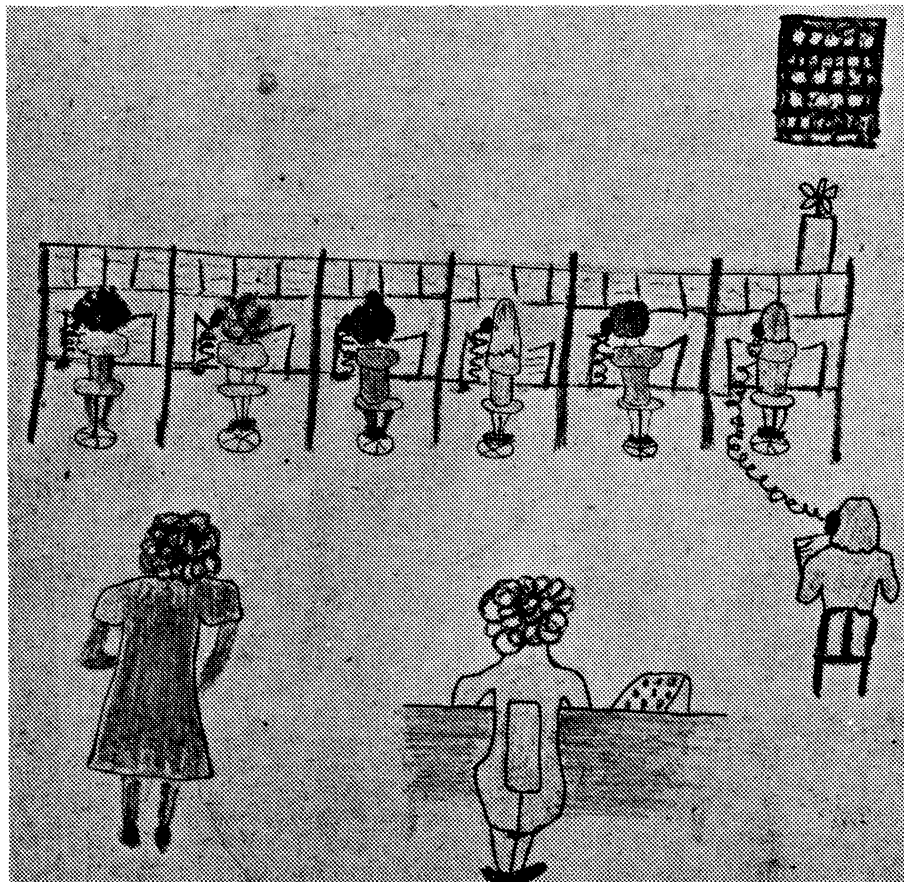
her break, when she had just come back from her break. Sometimes SAs wouldn't sign an emergency if they thought the operator asked too often.

While an operator was taking her calls she had to keep turning her head to try to see operators putting the flower in and out of the box to know when she could try to go out.

If an operator started getting excused three times in one day she had to see a doctor. That was why some operators signed out under an alias or signed illegibly. They hoped the supervisors wouldn't catch them at the time, or later when the company went over the sign-out sheet. They got caught right away, most times.

If an operator slouched in her seat, walked around with her shoulders slumped, or didn't smile, she could get "bad attitude" on her job record. We all slouched and slumped at times because we were always tired. Supervisors never selected an operator with "bad attitude" to pick up the trash. The company brought more little things to the attention of an operator with "bad attitude." She had to explain things such as her clothes, her purse, her hair.

As we filed in the door at the beginning of every tour and after break and lunch, a supervisor was there to check off our names. When an operator was late—so much as one minute late once a year—a supervisor reprimanded her. The GCO reprimanded her right then and there in front of everybody, then again in private. If the operator said she'd left home twenty minutes early because of the rain, the GCO told her she must leave thirty minutes early



'Lights in black boxes on the wall lit up for every call. A supervisor just had to look at the black boxes to know if any operator was unplugged.'

when it rained.

According to their service, 20 percent of the operators were assigned basic tours. An operator who had a basic tour of 9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. worked those hours every working day for a three- or six-month schedule. She had the same two days off every week and the same breaks and lunches every day.

The company assigned the other 80 percent of the operators supplemental tours. Every week their days off were different, and every day their hours were different. Late on Wednesday the company posted the schedule for the following week. None of these operators could make any plans—not for evenings, days, or weekends—for that week more than three days ahead of time.

Also the company scheduled divided tours. Waitresses work them, and train and bus workers work them. We called them splits. Operators on splits came to work in the morning, left, and came back to work later in the afternoon or night. A split was almost any combination of seven or eight hours' work, over a span of eleven to thirteen hours.

An operator on splits never felt done for the day, ready to relax and unwind after the day's or night's work. Splits ate into an operator's time off more than straight tours did. No matter how she spent the afternoon, she was still burdened with getting to work and showing up on time twice a day. It was hard to find time to wash your hair on splits. Operators often said, when they were on splits, why didn't the company just let them live there and be done with it.

It was difficult trying to live any kind of life around these unplanned split-up workdays. It was hard to find a babysitter or eat regular meals with your family.

Whether we wanted them or not, the company assigned all of us sixth days. We got overtime for them, but the company put sixth days on our schedules as if we were hired to work a six-day week regularly. We could never turn down sixth days because they were as firm as the rest of our schedule.

We also worked "voluntary" overtime of an hour or two. A half hour, or many times even five or ten minutes, before the end of a tour or the first part of a split, supervisors came around saying the boards were busy and she needed



'Operators came to work with fevers, with runny and sneezing colds. They stuffed wet tissues in the crevices of the positions.'

girls for overtime. One operator, after she consented to work overtime, asked if she could quickly go to the ladies' room because she'd waited more than two hours. The GCO said, "You'll have to wait your turn, honey."

The company asked for overtime every day during the three months before the customers' directory was to come out. The company knew when an operator was turning them down, and the GCOs talked to her about her attitude and threatened her job till she consented whenever she was asked.

SAs observed each operator twice a month. One of the times, they observed while sitting behind the operator plugged into her jack. The other time they observed the operator without her knowledge from a desk. They listened to ten or twenty-five calls and timed each call with a stopwatch. They listened for the operator's tone of service and for failures to follow the practice. Later they looked up all the numbers to find errors.

The company expected us to spend no more than an average of thirty seconds on a call.

The calls came one upon another with no pause between. The signal that flashed up and down the board and lit up the position where it stopped was a penetrating "beep beep." Operators couldn't get it out of their heads; they heard it in their sleep.

If an operator sounded impatient or argumentative to the SA observing her, she got a low rating for tone of service. For an operator's tone of service to remain the same when she was observed unawares, she needed to speak in the same mechanical voice day after day. Many of us didn't feel as if we were talking to live people so much as we were just stopping the signal to hurry on to the next signal, always thinking about how many seconds the call was taking.

Sometimes when we asked a customer to repeat a name they said, "Well, it's Powers or Powell, you know, operator, something like that." Customers who couldn't read well said, "That's it!" to whatever we spelled to them. After we checked several names and couldn't think of any more in the seconds we had, they called us vile names in their frustration.

Customers who couldn't pronounce the name and couldn't spell it either were naturally frustrated trying to talk to operators who kept spelling and asking for spellings. Unaware that the company made us do all that spelling and verifying, they thought we spelled to act smart. They told us we could help them and just wouldn't. Persevering ones called as many as ten times trying to get the operator they had yesterday, or an operator who knew what they wanted.

It surprised many of us the first time we heard customers answer our "directory assistance" with "Thank God I got a white operator." Other customers asked us why the company didn't hire girls who could "talk plain, not like niggers." They made those remarks to Black and white operators alike, for they couldn't know the operator's race.

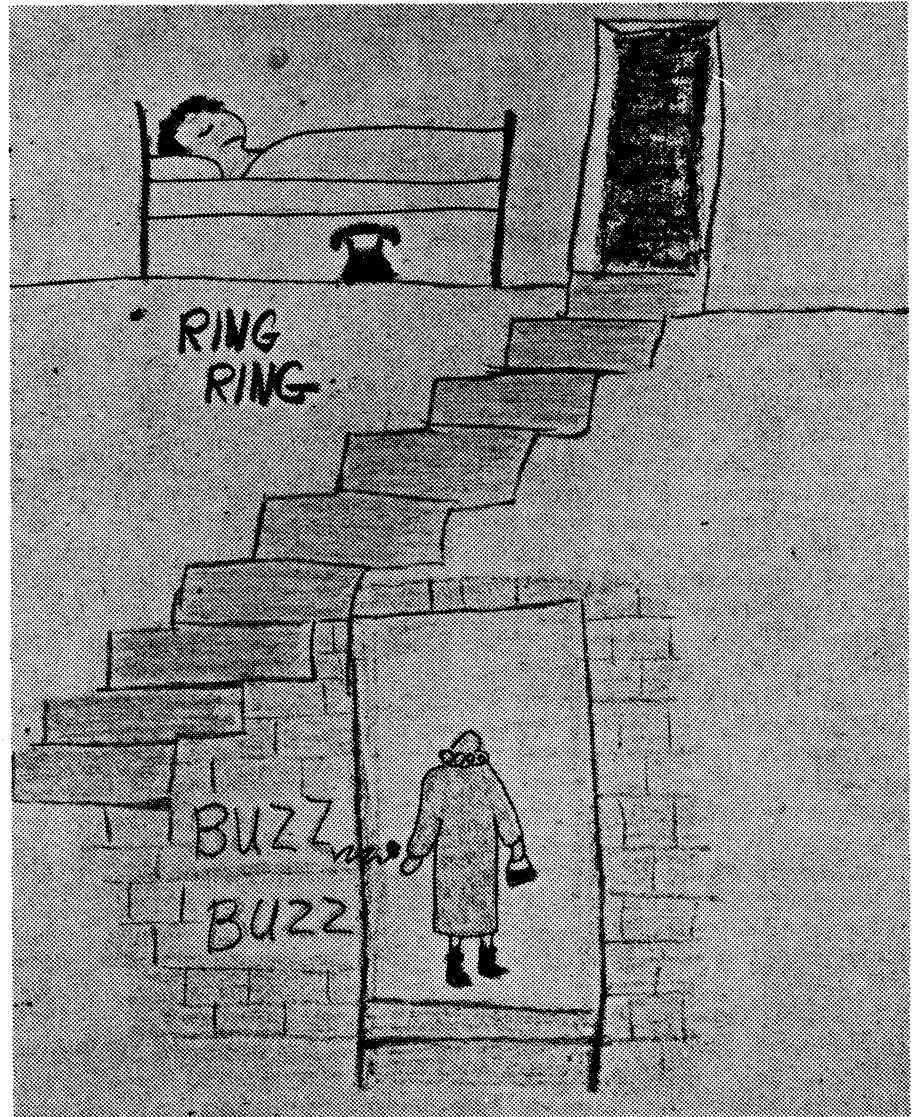
Some customers began their calls with obscenities; others let an operator search all over the directory for them first. Then they sprang on her: "How big are your boobs, honey?"

New operators and inexperienced operators broke down in tears at the board. No one likes to be told how stupid she is many times an hour, even though the insults do come from strangers. The company should have allowed us to disconnect abusive customers as soon as they started in.

Customers had operators hang up on them and be rude to them in spite of, and sometimes because of, the company's supervision over us. Right before quitting the job, almost every operator told customers to go to hell. Since people were always quitting, that happened a lot. One operator spent her whole last hour answering her calls, "Yeh, sonny, what is it?" and "Hi, cutie," and there were others like her.

Before we got a closed shop, 98 percent of operators joined the Communications Workers of America (CWA) voluntarily. We were second from the bottom of the company payroll, and we had more to gain from being in a union than did most other telephone workers.

We would have been lucky to get the



'The company made home visits to see if we were really sick. It was awful to answer the door and find the company there on the doorstep.'

minimum wage without CWA. Our dues were reasonable, and our contract had escalator clauses. CWA worked hard to get cost-of-living raises against the company's wishes. Other unions have had them and lost them.

CWA handled specific grievances covered by our contract, and stewards were always available, but getting rid of our conditions should have been urgent union business a long time ago.

Operators have one of the highest turnover rates for women in industry. The conditions that resulted in a high turnover also kept our union locals weak. To the company, weak locals must have been well worth the high turnover.

Many customers got angry at us for not finding their union's telephone number when they didn't know the name of the union. CWA was closer to us than these people's unions must have been to them. We always asked the operators who went to meetings what went on, and we talked to stewards about the rumors we heard when the company was up to something. If the union was going to discuss a strike, we packed the meetings.

CWA News came once a month in the mail, but like the company magazines, it didn't mean much to operators. Some months the president of CWA was in three pictures on a page. It was hard to appreciate the gains described in CWA News when CWA couldn't even see to it that an operator could go to the ladies' room.

Operators supported CWA strikes almost 100 percent. Older operators said the only way CWA ever made any progress for us was by striking. When we were on strike, the news quoted our wage demands, but they only quoted the very highest salaries. Only six operators in our office had enough service for a wage increase like those the news told people about. We thought the news must have done that to other striking workers, too, and made their wages look decent when they weren't.

When an operator called in sick, the supervisor was ready for her. The GCO asked what was the matter with her, and couldn't she possibly come to work later on. Many times the GCO said, "Weren't you just sick, honey?" They always asked if we had called a doctor

yet, even if it was only 8:00 or 9:00 in the morning.

The union said the company was to refrain from making home visits to see if we were really sick until the eighth day. Time after time the company did it anyway the second, third, or any day. Sick operators trying to rest had to answer the telephone when the company called them up, and had to call the GCO two or three times a day to say if they'd gotten a doctor, or if they were coming in later. It was awful to answer the door and find the company there on the doorstep.

Because the company intimidated us and fired us for calling in sick, and because most of us got no sick pay, but had to pay a doctor bill for being off only a few hours, a lot of sick people were packed together at the board.

Lots of operators came to work if they could stand up long enough to get out of the house and in the door. They came to work with fevers, with runny and sneezing colds that came down in a mist on their positions and on the operators next to them. Some held back cough spasms until between calls; their noses dripped on their directories. They stuffed wet tissues in the crevices of the positions, forgetting them so they were there for the next operator.

Unions have begun to concentrate on working conditions more than they have any time since the 1930s. The automobile factory workers, who make good pay by working people's standards when they're not laid off, want to change their inhuman conditions. The United Farm Workers union is trying to get its members outhouses in the fields, freedom from pesticides that are dumped right on them, and steady work.

Some companies don't allow workers to go to the bathroom at all at work without letters from their doctors. Many waitresses would be grateful to have three days' notice of their hours, as we had. In mines and factories the work is deafening and it kills people by slow sickness like cancer and by catastrophe. A strong union can eliminate wretched conditions like these and save the lives of those who die and suffer from them.

The Need for a Revolutionary Party

Reply to Leaders of the New American Movement

By Fred Feldman

A group claiming to be socialist must not only be able to demonstrate the superiority of socialism; it must have a realistic perspective for how to accomplish this transformation, including how to give direction to the growing unrest against the capitalist status quo today.

The New American Movement (NAM), a "socialist" organization founded in 1971 by veterans of the "New Left," is coming under increasing pressure to meet this challenge. A report on its July 1974 convention in the September 1974 issue of NAM's monthly newspaper, *New American Movement*, stated: "The most frequently voiced criticism was disappointment in the lack of clear political discussion. . . .

"But there was a more basic problem underlying the call for more political discussion: the convention seemed oddly distant from the political realities of contemporary U.S. or the practical problems of creating a national organization. . . . The discussions on programs reflected the problems of an organization situated on the fringes of American political life struggling to discover 'methods' by which it can enter national politics."

A sign of this search for political clarity was the debate sparked among NAM supporters by the article "Revolution and Democracy," by Harry Boyte and Frank Ackerman, first published in the July-August 1973 issue of the San Francisco bimonthly *Socialist Revolution*.

Exchanges on the article have been featured in subsequent issues of *Socialist Revolution*. "Revolution and Democracy" has recently been reprinted as a pamphlet by the New American Movement.

The article is part of a wider debate on political and organizational concepts involving NAM, various Maoist groups, and the People's party.

"Revolution and Democracy" claims to present an alternative to the Leninist strategy of building a revolutionary, internationalist, working-class party organized on democratic-centralist lines. Its conception of Leninism, however, is a caricature of the real thing, reflecting the widespread misidentification of Leninism with Stalinism.

For example, the document lumps together all tendencies calling themselves Leninist—from revolutionary Marxist to pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Stalinists—despite diametrically opposed programs and organizational principles.

Boyte and Ackerman see a Leninist party as inherently undemocratic and authoritarian. "The 'rank and file' tends to adopt the leadership of the central bodies uncritically," says the document, and "certain 'principles' become unquestionable. . . ."

The NAM leaders paternalistically say that such a bureaucratic organization may be necessary in the colonial

world or under dictatorships, but not in the United States today.

The article holds that it will be "decades" before the American masses actually challenge the existence of capitalism, and therefore there is no need as yet to build a disciplined organization able to lead such a struggle for power.

Behind Boyte and Ackerman's rejection of Leninist organizational concepts, however, lies not only a misconception of what a Leninist party is, but also disagreement with the program and perspectives of Marxism. It is from this revolutionary working-class program that the need for Leninist organizational forms arises.

Despite disagreements on the nature of the revolutionary organization, Boyte and Ackerman claim wide agreement with Lenin: "We identify with Lenin's revolutionary spirit and determination; we agree with his critique of mechanistic determinism and economism, his writings on the nature of the state, his approach to creating a 'revolutionary alliance of the oppressed,' and his treatment of nationalism and imperialism." As the article proceeds, however, these areas of "agreement" fade and finally disappear.

In Boyte and Ackerman's analysis of modern capitalism, part of the problem is that they again mistake the views of Maoist groups such as the Revolutionary Union for a Leninist perspective.

Most Maoist groupings mechanically reason that since the industrial working class will be decisive in an American revolution, all political activity must be centered on the factories. They conclude that struggles that have originated elsewhere—like those of Blacks, women, or students—are "petty-bourgeois diversions" that disrupt "working-class unity."

"Revolution and Democracy" claims to recognize the importance of participating in such struggles. But instead of simply rejecting the false logic of the Maoists and recognizing that struggles by nonworkers or struggles outside of the workplace can also be important, the article makes a sweeping redefinition of classes to be able to label all those in struggle as workers.

Capitalists, we are told, are those who "own enough income-earning property to live without working"; the middle class owns "some income-earning property, but not enough to live on"; and "the working class is everyone else." Students, housewives, and prisoners, by this definition, are automatically part of the proletariat just like steelworkers, teachers, or railroad workers.

It is true that capitalists own great amounts of property while workers own little or none. But property, in and of itself, produces no income for the capitalists. It is only the labor of working people that produces wealth, including the vast accumulations of the capitalists.

What distinguishes the capitalist class, then, is its ability to command the labor of others because of its monopoly over the means of production. Industrialists, bankers, stockholders, and landlords all share in the surplus value expropriated from the workers. Workers are those who, because of this monopoly, must sell their labor power to the capitalists for a wage or salary.

From this fundamental division flows the key task of a socialist revolution: to abolish private ownership of the means of production and establish a planned economy that can eliminate wage labor.

It is true that most housewives are part of the working class, but not for the reason NAM gives—that they "perform essential labor" in the home. They are part of the working class only if they hold down a wage-earning job or are economically dependent on a wage-earner.

The oppression of women predates capitalism. Early class societies subjugated women and consigned them to household labor, thus setting up a distinct form of oppression. The struggles of women challenge the capitalist order by defying this age-old oppression, but this does not transform all housewives into a sector of the working class.

Students belong to no economic class for the period of their education. The relative freedom of students from the day-to-day pressures that workers confront gives them an opportunity to study social reality and to respond quickly to the first signs of social crisis.

But the declassed position of students brings an important weakness. They have no independent social power and, unlike workers, can't present a decisive challenge to the power of the capitalists. They are easily discouraged and frustrated, especially if powerful support from the workers is delayed. Placing the label "working class" on students does not abolish this weakness nor does recognizing their class position have to lead to deriding the struggles they participate in.

While generously bestowing revolutionary potential on "everyone else," "Revolution and Democracy" has special reservations about the revolutionary potential of industrial workers. It criticizes Marxists for noting the "discipline" of industrial workers as an indicator of their power. This discipline, it argues, is simply a sign of workers' enslavement to capitalist authoritarianism.

But in addition to the discipline imposed by capitalist speedup and other forms of compulsion, there also exists a discipline stemming from the workers' pride in their own skills and achievements. This discipline is not reactionary, but has its foundations in a progressive development—the cooperative and social character of modern production, which conflicts with the anarchic workings of the capitalist system of ownership and distribution.

The progressive side of the discipline learned by workers in the factories comes forward in any major social conflict, in their organizational skill and initiative, their impulse toward mass action, and their tendency to challenge the capitalists for control of the means of production.

The workers in the mass production, transportation, and communication industries occupy and operate the heart of the capitalist system. In an advanced industrial country, it is impossible to abolish capitalist ownership of the means of production unless the workers who operate them throw their decisive weight into the scales.

Because it denies that one sector of the oppressed will have greater weight than any other in making a revolution, "Revolution and Democracy" is unable to formulate a revolutionary strategy that corresponds to the social reality unfolding today. This is reflected in NAM's inability to find its way to participation in social struggles.

Although NAM talks a great deal

about "socialist feminism," for instance, it has been absent from the struggle of women for the right to abortion and has taken no stand on the Equal Rights Amendment. Readiness to dub all housewives "workers" is a poor substitute for real participation in the struggles of women.

This "redefinition" of working class is in reality yet another version of the shopworn "New Left" view that the working class is not the revolutionary class and that students, a "new working class," or some other grouping will replace it in the forefront of class struggle. Contradicted by the actual course of events—especially since the May 1968 upsurge in France, and capped by the current workers' upsurge in Portugal—this theory has a bleak future.

Another of Boyte and Ackerman's differences with Lenin is their denial of the existence of an "aristocracy of labor" holding privileged positions in the working classes of the advanced capitalist countries. The authors note that this concept is part of Lenin's theory of imperialism, with which they claimed to be in agreement.

Because of the worldwide expansion of capitalism, and the resulting super-exploitation of the colonial world, the imperialists were able to grant important concessions to sections of the working classes in the advanced countries. These workers tended to become chauvinist and more attached to the status quo, providing a base of support for the conservative labor bureaucracies that developed in the working-class movement.

Do Boyte and Ackerman think it is mere coincidence that the most oppressed workers—Blacks, Chicanos, youth, women—have undertaken more militant action and entertained more radical social conclusions than comparatively privileged layers? Blindness to the political importance of this stratification leads to disaster when Boyte and Ackerman discuss the struggles of oppressed nationalities.

"Revolution and Democracy" expresses support for "Lenin's approach to nationalism" as a "model." It claims to uphold "the right to separatism when minorities feel it is necessary."

Unfortunately, what the authors grant with the left hand, the right takes away. Because of the "geographical dispersion" of Blacks in the United States, they say, "secession seems hardly plausible" and "the demand for secession of a geographical unit is thus normally replaced in this country with the demand for a separatism: for an independent organizational, political, and cultural identity for a minority group."

Revolutionists hold that Blacks and other oppressed nationalities have the right to decide what is "plausible" or "normal" for them. Whether they opt for integration, setting up a new nation-state, or anything in between, the choice must be theirs. A right to self-determination hemmed in by strictures as to what is "plausible" or "normal" is no right of self-determination at all.

"Revolution and Democracy" also beats a retreat from support for "organizational, political, and cultural identity," stating: "It is important to move beyond the formulations of 'community control' of the 1960s, to find methods for demanding that power be shifted to alliances representing diverse sectors of the working class."

With this approach, how can the authors give effective support to the

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struggle of Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents in New York City's School District One to control their schools? Should the parents offer to share control with the racist forces led by United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker as a more "plausible" alternative? What explains NAM's silence on this nine-year struggle?

Struggles for equal job opportunity are also viewed rather balefully: "Rather than participating in struggles, for instance, in which . . . white workers are asked to give up their jobs for blacks, socialists must argue for struggles that demand that reforms be paid for by the ruling class."

This approach would lead to opposing demands for preferential hiring as a means of abolishing job discrimination. It means in effect upholding the special privilege of white workers in the name of "working-class unity," while consoling the most oppressed workers with the promise of reforms in the sweet by-and-by.

Revolutionary socialists seek real working-class unity based on equality (not the "unity" of horse and rider) by giving unconditional support to the struggles of the most oppressed, and by opposing the efforts of privileged workers to defend their positions at the expense of others. The Boyte-Ackerman policy of nonparticipation in struggles that challenge the racist stratification of the working class places them on the side of the most conservative forces in the workers movement.

With such a position, how can NAM participate wholeheartedly in the fight for school desegregation in Boston? Apparently it's not easy. NAM restricted its endorsement of the December 14, 1974, march against racism in Boston to the columns of *Moving On*, a circular aimed primarily at NAM members. NAM's somewhat more widely read newspaper, *New American Movement*, never mentioned the demonstration, in which 12,000 people participated.

New American Movement has thus far published three articles about the struggle in Boston. One, written by the Middlesex, Massachusetts, chapter, opposes the racist demonstrations and halfheartedly supports busing, but takes an ambiguous attitude toward the antibusing movement.

Middlesex NAM reports "curiously mixed feelings as we watched the militant confrontations between 'anti-busing' forces in South Boston and the authority of the state: helmeted tactical police advancing with clubs against demonstrators. . . . All this reminded those of us who had participated in the anti-war movement of our own demonstrations and protest actions in an uncanny way. It was as if we were seeing the history of the late sixties replayed again in a strange distorting mirror."

A socialist organization must be able to make the distinction—sharply and without journalistic sentimentality—between an antiwar demonstration and a racist lynch mob. Would NAM prefer that police stand aside—as they often do in fact—and let the racists attack Black children? Isn't NAM making the same mistake as the Maoist groups that allow the fact that many of the racists are workers to cloud the completely reactionary and anti-working-class character of their actions?

The same ambiguity poisons the lead editorial in the April issue. It describes the antibusing movement as "purely racist," but immediately qualifies this stand by adding that "busing can easily be portrayed as one more ruling class attack on the cohesion of these communities." That NAM itself is more than half taken in by this racist demagoguery is indicated by the editors' denunciation of the busing plan as "divisive."

Given NAM's inability to take a clear political stand on one side or the other



'Contrary to assertions of Boyte and Ackerman, the Bolsheviks under Lenin sought to establish genuine socialist democracy, based on democratically elected soviets of workers and peasants.'

of the barricades on this issue, it is hardly surprising that the editorial's expressions of support to the Black community remain purely platonic. As of the April issue, *not a word* had appeared in *New American Movement* on the National Student Conference Against Racism attended by more than 2,000 youth in February, or on the call issued by the NAACP for a national probusing march in Boston on May 17.

Skepticism about the capacities of industrial workers leads Boyte and Ackerman to contempt for the trade unions, created through decades of struggle: "The position of unions, as defensive, non-revolutionary organizations, compels them to play a conservative role. . . ." "Revolution and Democracy" concludes: "There is no direct or natural transition from the defensive, 'responsible' posture of unions, even unions with honest leaders, to the offensive against capitalism which workers' councils must take. We should create our own organizations, separate from the necessarily bureaucratized and government-regulated structures of unions. . . ."

Boyte and Ackerman forget that the industrial unions didn't begin as "conservative" formations, but as a powerful rebellion against oppression encompassing actions, like plant seizures, that challenged capitalist property relations. Because the unions remain the strongest labor organizations, the radicalization of the workers will inevitably be expressed in them, although other forms will also develop in the course of struggle.

The overturn of the corrupt Boyle machine in the United Mine Workers union was a harbinger of such a radicalization. Many workers today are growing doubtful about the class-collaborationist strategy of the bureaucrats, and are demanding mass action in the streets to oppose unemployment and inflation. The antiwar movement, the Black and Chicano movements, and the women's movement have had a profound impact on the thinking of the working class.

Instead of accepting the conservative and bureaucratized conditions of the unions as ordained by God, the Socialist Workers party proposes a class-struggle program of demands for the unions. These include escalator clauses in all wages and contracts to combat inflation, a shorter working day with no pay cut to assure jobs for all, opposition to antilabor laws, the opening of corporation books to see the truth about their profits, and workers' control of production.

In order to fight for the basic needs of the workers, unions must break their ties to the Democratic party and create a party of their own to fight for a workers government.

In contrast, "Revolution and Democracy" proposes to isolate radicals in "our own" (mythical) labor movement, free from the danger of "conservative" contamination. As history has demonstrated, real workers' councils will come into being, not out of the heads and mimeograph machines of NAM's "socialist organizers," but out of the real mass struggles of workers. The proposals in "Revolution and Democracy" would bar effective socialist participation in this process.

"Revolution and Democracy" stresses the role of "false consciousness" and illusions in preserving the capitalist system. Yet the authors show no interest in combating an illusion so powerful that it is shared by most of the oppressed and quite a few who claim to be socialists as well—the belief that gains can be won by supporting the capitalist Democratic party.

NAM has an unbroken record of abstention from the struggle against this aspect of capitalist ideology. In 1972 NAM took a neutral stance in the presidential election. It did not oppose the two capitalist parties by endorsing the Socialist Workers party ticket, but attempted to ignore the Democrats and Republicans in favor of "local organizing." This didn't prevent many NAM members from endorsing George McGovern and still more from pulling the Democratic lever on election day. NAM leaders derided the efforts of the SWP candidates, Linda Jenness and Andrew Pulley, to use the elections to present a socialist alternative and expose the capitalist politicians.

The same acceptance of the two-party monopoly on U.S. politics permeated NAM's response to Watergate. NAM organized the Committee to Unelect the President, which, despite the bravado of its acronym (COUP), sought a mildly liberal goal: to persuade the capitalist politicians in Congress to replace one servant of big business with another by impeachment.

What did NAM's effort accomplish? The basic demand of COUP was achieved: Nixon "unelected" himself. Ford carried on the antilabor and racist policies of his predecessor. New revelations on crimes of the CIA, IRS, FBI, and so forth—many long predating Nixon's accession to the presidency—have made Nixon's plumbers look like pikers by comparison.

The SWP, on the other hand, combined a propaganda campaign showing how the Watergate scandal was an

inevitable product of the capitalist system, with a legal suit and political offensive exposing the government's attacks on civil liberties. This campaign has accelerated since Nixon resigned, confirming the SWP's position that the government's repressive activities were not merely the product of one twisted mind in the Oval Office.

NAM, understandably disappointed by the results of its brief burst of activity, sank back into dormancy.

Boyte and Ackerman's attitude toward concrete struggles is at best contradictory and at worst sectarian. They condemn the antiwar movement, for example, for failing to adopt a radical program—thus attempting to justify NAM's abstentionist policy.

Yet they point with pride to Minneapolis NAM's participation in a "coalition of left- and right-wing groups, which defeated the joint efforts of the Democratic and Republican parties and the downtown businessmen to build a huge domed stadium. . . ."

Why was this coalition seen as a more fruitful field for "socialists" than the antiwar coalitions that mobilized hundreds of thousands in the streets around the slogan "U.S. Out of Indochina Now"? Boyte and Ackerman provide no answer.

The authors point to "the Socialist Workers Party's role in the anti-war movement in recent years" as a "classic" example of how *not* to function. They conjure up a sinister image, disturbingly reminiscent of red-baiting slanders against the antiwar movement, of SWP members as "secret cadre" worming their way into positions of responsibility "without revealing" their politics. They insist that socialists can accept leadership roles in mass organizations only when there is "mass understanding and acceptance of our ideas."

This approach would effectively rule out the participation of socialists—except as sideline critics—in united fronts like the antiwar movement.

United fronts are not based on "understanding and acceptance" of the program of one or another group. The antiwar coalitions brought together organizations and individuals of many points of view who agreed on one thing: the need for mass action against the war.

SWP members threw themselves into building the antiwar demonstrations and accepted positions of responsibility in the coalitions on the basis of agreement with this objective. Within the coalitions, they distinguished themselves as firm advocates of mass action in the streets and independence from the capitalist parties as keys to building

a successful movement against the Vietnam War.

SWP members made no secret of their revolutionary views. On the contrary, they energetically put them forward through socialist election campaigns, public meetings, and circulation of the revolutionary press. What they did not do was to demand acceptance of their revolutionary socialist program as a precondition for working with others to build the movement.

Through their leadership role in the antiwar struggle, the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance convinced many activists in practice that socialists are the best fighters against imperialist war and that their methods of struggle are the most effective.

The key to NAM's abstentionist politics, as well as to its false view of the role of a Leninist party, lies in the lack of a strategic framework that links today's struggles to the socialist goal.

Contrary to Boyte and Ackerman's view, there is no Chinese wall separating the strategy of revolutionists in the United States today from the tasks they will confront in a revolutionary situation. The Socialist Workers party advocates a transitional strategy, as opposed to the reformist approach that tries to separate out "minimum demands" that can be proposed today from the socialist revolution, which is consigned to the far-off future.

The Leninist approach of the SWP recognizes that the day-to-day struggles of the masses—for immediate economic demands, for democratic rights, against the carnage of imperialist war, for protection from the hardships imposed by crises of the capitalist system—are starting points for the struggle for workers' power and socialism, since the capitalist system cannot effectively meet these needs of the masses.

The revolutionary party advances the anticapitalist dynamic of such movements by joining those who are in struggle at whatever level, by fighting for demands that correspond to the objective needs of the masses, and by proposing methods of struggle that teach working people their own power through promoting the independent organization of the masses.

For Boyte and Ackerman, however, the fact that revolutionists are challenging the capitalist state power holds no implications for the kind of revolutionary organization needed today. They admit that a revolutionary party like Lenin's may be needed in a revolutionary crisis, but hold that an amorphous organization like NAM is suited to present conditions. A change-over can supposedly be made "when the time comes."

The program capable of guiding a revolution is tested and developed, and the forces capable of giving leadership are gathered and educated, prior to the revolution itself. The mass struggles

that precede a full-scale crisis also require revolutionary leadership if they are to have maximum impact. Nor can the propagation of revolutionary ideas among the masses—including the need for a break with the capitalist parties—be left to the last minute.

All these factors are part of an integrated revolutionary process requiring the existence of a revolutionary party. NAM's inability to relate constructively to current struggles demonstrates that it will be no more able to make an eleventh-hour transition to meet the needs of a revolutionary situation.

Because its members adhere to a common revolutionary-Marxist program, the SWP is able to practice real democratic centralism. Political decisions about its course of action and leadership are decided democratically and carried out by the whole membership.

"Revolution and Democracy" proposes instead the creation of "collectives," or "networks of people who have worked together and can trust each other," which would have "complete autonomy in the formation of subgroups." At the same time, the authors promise "strong elected leadership" to carry out the decisions of national gatherings.

This is a contradiction. Given the complete autonomy of local groups, a national convention of NAM will have no more authority than a Louis Harris poll.

"Revolution and Democracy" seeks an organization in which people with sharply counterposed programs—social democrats, Maoists, counterculturalists, syndicalists, anarchists, and so on—can peacefully coexist. To that end, it proposes a structure so loose as to guarantee the one action these forces can temporarily agree on—inaction.

Although this approach may preserve "unity" for a time, wars, revolutionary crises at home and abroad, and even hotly contested elections demand that the organization take stands. This will bring hidden political differences to the fore. Serious political activists will become dissatisfied with "doing their own thing" in their locality and will seek a national and international orientation. Since the organization has no common political foundation, it will begin to disintegrate under the pressure of the resulting conflicts. The history of Students for a Democratic Society is a model of this evolution.

Lacking a clear political basis for their proposal, Boyte and Ackerman defend it by attributing likable psychological characteristics to it. It will have "warmth," "boldness," "sensitivity," and "openness to interpersonal relationships." The organization begins to sound less like a political organization

than an encounter group: "Revolutionaries must learn to probe their fears and doubts . . . learning how to 'open up' all forbidden and illicit realms."

By emphasizing "trust" rather than political ideas as the basis for NAM, Boyte and Ackerman assure that their proposed structure will in fact be a network of personal cliques. Instead of the use of political criteria in selecting leadership, for instance, these choices will be made in a kind of "warmth" and "boldness" sweepstakes.

As many discovered by bitter experience in the "New Left," those whose personal qualities aren't up to snuff in the eyes of the insiders—those who perhaps display a touch of coolness and caution rather than the required warmth and boldness—will find themselves out in the cold.

The "opening up" of all "illicit realms," which is to be a prime task of American radicals, is, however, barred by Boyte and Ackerman to the revolutionists of the colonial world. For the denizens of these benighted lands, the authors defend the most rigid Stalinist-type centralism. They argue that an "elitist" party may be inevitable in such areas since "it made sense to think that specially trained cadre were needed to run an organization." "Party discipline," they hold, is also needed in these countries to achieve the "ascetic restructuring of intellectuals' personalities."

The purpose of the Leninist party is not to restructure personalities into some preconceived mold (whether of the "ascetic" or "warm and bold" varieties), but to unite people of many personalities who want to replace capitalism with socialism.

Boyte and Ackerman's conception combines condescension toward "primitives" who need an "elite," with a totalitarian concern for "restructuring personalities," which is completely alien to Leninism, but has much in common with the practices of Stalin and Mao.

And in fact, while the NAM leaders oppose Leninism, they express admiration for the Maoist variant of Stalinism. "Revolution and Democracy" charges that, while the Bolsheviks under Lenin supposedly established "a system of regimentation and military control . . . which led directly to much of the later authoritarianism of the Soviet government," Mao created "a successful example of 'the revolutionary alliance of all the oppressed.'"

Contrary to the assertions of Boyte and Ackerman, the Bolsheviks under Lenin sought to establish genuine socialist democracy in Russia based on the democratically elected soviets (councils) of workers and peasants. Lenin opposed the concept of a one-party state codified by Stalin and carried even further by Mao in China's new constitution.

Lenin wrote in 1918 that "if the working people are dissatisfied with their party they can elect other delegates, hand power to another party and change the government without any revolution at all." Opposition parties existed until they engaged in outright insurrection against the revolutionary regime.

Even in the midst of civil war, art and literature flourished. Lenin and Trotsky fought those who sought to impose so-called proletarian culture on artists.

Stalin rose to power as a representative of an anti-Leninist bureaucratic caste opposed to socialist democracy. This caste had to overcome stiff opposition from those Bolsheviks led by Trotsky who had absorbed the Leninist tradition of workers' democracy.

Although the Chinese Revolution has achieved vast social gains for the Chinese masses, the Mao government is modeled on the Stalinist regime and not that of Lenin. There are no democratic organs of workers and peasants, and no avenues exist for them to play any role in policy making. All opposition to Mao is suppressed. Tendencies and factions are banned in the Communist party. We hear of dissension in the ruling group only through attacks on those who differ with Mao as "capitalist roaders" and "feudalists." Their real views are never made known. Art and literature are strangled by bureaucratic censorship. A Stalin-type cult of Mao is fostered.

Boyte and Ackerman falsely claim that democratic centralism excludes real democracy. In reality, democracy is a vital necessity for a centralized revolutionary party. The history of the Bolsheviks demonstrates this. At the time of the February 1917 revolution, many top leaders of the party gave critical support to the capitalist provisional government that replaced the tsarist regime. Lenin led a minority that opposed any support to the capitalist government and counterposed fighting for the soviets to become the government.

In a debate that involved every party member, Lenin won an overwhelming majority and the Bolsheviks adopted the course that led to the October Revolution. If the Bolshevik party had not been both democratic in determining its course and centralist in carrying it out, the October Revolution would not have occurred.

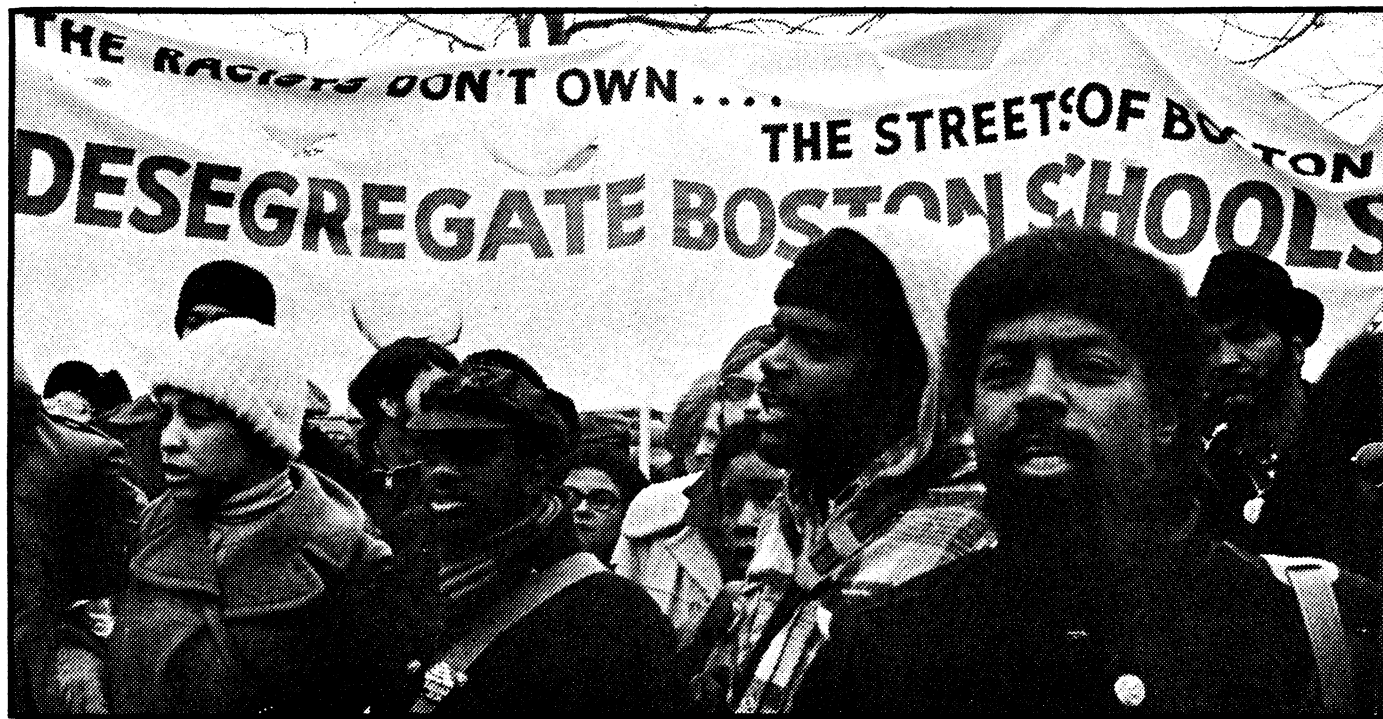
The SWP models itself on the *real* Bolshevik party and not the figment of Boyte and Ackerman's imagination. Based on a common, international revolutionary program, discussions and debates occur over how best to carry out revolutionary tasks. This process culminates in a delegated convention where a democratic vote decides the issues.

The whole organization, regardless of differences of opinion that may remain, then unites to carry out that orientation, thus testing it in practice, until the next convention.

It is this combination of democracy and unity in action based on a revolutionary-internationalist political program that makes it possible for the SWP to participate in mass movements and carry out socialist education in a way that is helping to open the road to a socialist revolution.

The eclectic politics of Boyte and Ackerman—a collage of mutually contradictory views borrowed from here, there, and everywhere—and the amorphous organizational form they advocate, will produce bitter frustration for those who follow them.

The Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance offer a viable alternative to the shallow anti-Leninism of "Revolution and Democracy."



Flax Hermes

Boston, December 14. NAM newspaper has not reported call for May 17 NAACP march against Boston racists.

BOOKS

How Europe Underdeveloped Africa

By Walter Rodney. Published simultaneously by: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, London, 1972; and Tanzania Publishing House, Dar es Salaam, 1972. 316 pp.

The subject of Walter Rodney's book is the forcible subjugation of Africa to the needs of European capitalism.

How Europe Underdeveloped Africa demolishes the myth propagated by some Pan-Africanist leaders, such as Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, that class conflicts and struggles are alien to African history and society.

"The African continent," Rodney writes, "reveals very fully the workings of the law of uneven development of societies. There are marked contrasts between the Ethiopian empire and the hunting groups of pigmies in the Congo forest or between the empires of the Western Sudan and the Khoisan hunter-gatherers of the Kalahari Desert. . . . The Ethiopian empire embraced literate feudal Amharic noblemen as well as simple Kaffa cultivators and Galla pastoralists."

These were class divisions. Rodney points out that this was a relative *advance* over the primitive communalism many Pan-Africanists glorify, because the development of classes reflected a division of labor made possible by higher productive technique.

Although no African society developed to the stage of capitalism before colonialism set in, there can be no question that feudal-type systems were common in Africa.

This included the rise of states, which are characterized by the use of coercion to keep one class down, together with the elimination of communal relations. Rodney notes that "the areas of Africa in which labour relations were breaking out of communal restrictions corresponded to areas in which sophisticated

political states were emerging."

Rodney divides the era between the coming of Western Europeans to Africa and the present time into precolonial and colonial periods. In doing so he skillfully points out how African aid to capitalist development was first based on trade and slavery, followed by direct subjugation for the extraction of natural resources.

It was capitalist technology that allowed Europe to open its trade with Africa, Asia, and the Americas on terms Europe could dictate. For example, cloth produced in England by capitalist methods could simply drive out of the market cloth produced under feudal or communal systems in Africa or India.

This type of competition destroyed attempts to improve technology in what became the colonial world.

It is sometimes argued that the major reason for slavery was racial. This view is false. What made the slave trade go was its profitability, due to the need for labor in the Americas.

"When Europeans reached the Americas, they recognised its enormous potential in gold and silver and tropical produce. But that potential could not be made a reality without adequate labour supplies," writes Rodney.

Europe was unable to sustain the drain of human resources necessary to realize the potential wealth in this area. The native populations of the Americas were either insufficient or unwilling to submit to the organized toil of the plantations and mines, having just emerged from the hunting stage.

Therefore the European capitalists "turned to the nearest continent, Africa, which incidentally had a population accustomed to settled agriculture and disciplined labour in many spheres."

Apologists for the slave trade have argued that after all it was African rulers who sold our brothers and sisters to the John Hawkinses. But it was the European's drive for profit—not any existing African practices—that launched the slave trade. With it, white supremacy and racism were fostered to prop up an economic system based on slavery.

The Conference of Berlin in 1885 formally launched the period of direct colonization of Africa. The continent was divided into French, English, German, Belgian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian spheres of influence.

Imperialist trading companies, through armed force and taxation, made the Africans grow cash crops for



Statue from Lower Congo depicts Europeans being carried on shoulders of Africans.

export—cotton, peanuts, cocoa, and other crops. In many areas the people were forced to stop cultivating food-stuffs. Starvation developed in rich agricultural regions that had previously had an abundance of crops.

Rodney also covers the current situation of Africa, that of "neocolonialism." He points out how from the 1930s on, British and French colonialists encouraged the development of an African elite imbued with the ways and outlook of the metropolitan ruling classes.

Formal independence did not bring power into the hands of the broad masses of workers and peasants who provided the muscle behind the independence movements. Rather, the power shifted into the hands of intellectual, labor, and capitalist leaders who, Rodney points out, fully shared the outlook of their colonial masters. Thus the old

exploitation went on in new forms.

Early in his study, Rodney makes an important distinction: The countries where capitalism has been abolished have not participated in the plunder of Africa. As a Marxist, he speaks favorably of socialism, but does not concern himself with the next logical steps that flow from his analysis of the present situation in Africa. This is the major shortcoming of the book.

Nevertheless, his analysis can help the development of the leadership required to overcome the heritage of colonialism that Rodney outlines so well. That process will be the development of revolutionary Marxist parties whose aim is to abolish capitalism in Africa by placing power in the hands of the African workers and peasants.

Omari Musa

LETTERS

Editors: I've received the first issue for the month of April with the new supplement, *International Socialist Review*. I thought the *Review* was very relevant and that it will serve not only to familiarize the people with its aims and objectives, but to also give the *Militant* a more formidable toehold in the mass media arena.

A prisoner
New York

Editors: Thank you for Marguerite Bonnet's splendid essay on André Breton and the surrealist movement [March *International Socialist Review*].

André Breton announced in an early surrealist tract that "every true adept of the surrealist revolution is obliged to believe that the surrealist movement is not a movement in the abstract, but is really capable of changing something in the minds of men."

Surrealism intended to initiate a new humanism, in which there were no artists and nonartists, but a broad new consciousness that would sweep the old

concept of art along with it. And indeed its ability to effect these changes is manifest in the fact that, as George Novack observes in *Existentialism Versus Marxism*, "it has modified the aesthetic sensibility, behavior and outlook of an entire generation of educated youth. . . ."

Marguerite Bonnet's piece was a timely and insightful reaffirmation of C. Day Lewis's pronouncement that "if we are on the threshold of a new life, we may rest assured that the poet will have something to say about it, for he has sharp senses."

Bruce Farnsworth
Denver, Colorado

Editors: In her article on corruption in American politics ("Crooked politics: an American institution," in the February *International Socialist Review*) Stephanie Coontz advances the thesis that corruption is used by the ruling class as a method of settling disputes within its ranks without being forced to enact fundamental revisions in the structure of its ruling order.

Coontz confines the scope of her article to American political life; however, recently a number of articles have appeared in the press indicating that corrupt practices are extremely widespread in the Soviet Union as well.

In an article appearing in *Critique*, a magazine devoted to Eastern European studies from an anticapitalist standpoint, David Law takes up some recent revelations of political corruption in the Soviet Republic of Georgia. These include cases of using public funds to build private houses, embezzlement of stock and funds, and "major thefts involving several million rubles."

Law's explanation for this corruption is that the planned structure of the Soviet economy makes it difficult to achieve private enrichment without resorting to illegal practices. This is correct, but it seems to me that Coontz's method provides a fuller explanation.

An attempt by the lower-paid members of the bureaucracy to better themselves materially can only take place through secret, corrupt means, since the bureaucracy attempts to avoid open conflicts within its ranks at all costs.

Law correctly infers that this case in Georgia is probably indicative of a problem existing within the whole of Soviet society. Its widespread nature is in large part explained by the freedom from control that the bureaucracy has enjoyed up to this point.

The only cure for corruption in the workers states is for the workers to seize power from the despotic bureaucrats who rule them and institute proletarian

democracy based on the existing property relations.

Peter Archer
New York, New York

Editors: Just finished reading the April *ISR* supplement, and my doubts have been completely allayed. Not only does it look good; it has good stuff (however tightly packed):

C.F.
New York, New York

Editors: While I welcome the content of the new *ISR*, I feel compelled to comment on the layout. The abundance of small type overwhelms you and it discourages someone from reading the text for fear of eyestrain. With the *ISR* in the *Militant*, the layout should be more of a popularized style than it was in the magazine form. In short, the layout needs much more life and energy to it. J.O.

San Francisco, California

This column is open to all viewpoints on subjects of interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer initials instead.

The Case of Sergei Paradzhanov

By Antonin Liehm

It was a year ago that the greatest living genius of the Soviet cinema, Sergei Paradzhanov, was condemned in Kiev to six years' imprisonment. Arrested in the train while returning from Moscow, where he had gone for the funeral of his old friend the set-designer I.M. Rivos, he was tried and condemned practically *in camera* (of all his associates and friends only his old cameraman Yuri Ilyenko was authorized to assist at the proceedings).

In an article at the time of his arrest, the Ukrainian journal *Vecherny Kiev* violently accused Paradzhanov of terrible crimes: speculation in art objects, speculation in foreign currency, spreading venereal disease, homosexual acts, and coercion to a homosexual liaison.

Moreover, the police had circulated a very outrageous story: the son of a high Ukrainian functionary—who belonged to the circle of Paradzhanov's friends—had killed himself. Near his body they found a letter accusing Paradzhanov of having forced him to have sexual relations with him, having thereby infected him with syphilis (naturally, no one except the police had ever seen the letter).

If retained, such charges would have won for Paradzhanov at least a fifteen-year prison sentence. The court finally retained only a single charge, traffic in art objects (it is difficult to know how the verdict might have been influenced by the accusation of homosexual acts, which constitute a criminal offense, according to Soviet law). That, nevertheless, was enough for a more-than-severe sentence—six years in prison.

There the official police horror story stops—an affair, one could say, of criminal law.

Now let's try to look further.

I remember arriving in Moscow in the summer of 1964. The first of the Soviet cineasts I met, old Mark Donskoi, hurried up to me: "Anton Antonich, thanks be to God, a genius is born in the Soviet cinema."

It was thus that I learned for the first time of the existence of the film *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors*, by an Armenian director, born in Georgia in 1924 and working in the Ukraine since his studies after the war with the late Igor Savchenko, student of the great Soviet film director Aleksandr Dovzhenko.

It didn't take long for the fame of Sergei Paradzhanov to spread beyond the frontiers of the Soviet Union. His film made the tour of Europe, received in triumph by the critics.

It won the prize for best production at the Festival of Mar del Plata in 1965 and was shown at the 1965 San Francisco Festival and in 1966 in Montréal. It was widely released and acclaimed in the United States. But no one had ever met its author. He had constantly been refused permission to accompany his films abroad or to go abroad in response to the numerous invitations which flocked in before long.

Then there began the pilgrimage to Paradzhanov. Cineasts, writers, artists,

Antonin Liehm is an associate professor of film and drama at Richmond College of the City University of New York and author of The Politics of Culture and Closely Watched Films. Professor Liehm was a leading literary figure in Czechoslovakia who supported the movement for democratization in 1968. He was subsequently forced into exile. This article is an appeal he made at a meeting in defense of Soviet political prisoners held March 18 at St. Marks Church in New York City.

official delegates, and tourists gathered in his little apartment in one of the new buildings in Kiev. One of his visitors described it:

"Two rooms and a kitchenette, all in all about thirty meters. The wall of the larger of the two rooms is covered with Hutsul icons, painted on glass. [The Hutsuls are a people living in the Carpathian Mountains in Western Ukraine.] On another wall some Ukrainian icons. An old portrait of Sobiesky, another of Casimir Jagello [two Polish kings]. In an enormous gilt frame, a miniscule portrait of Lenin. A saber, a kindjal [a Turkic dagger]. In the other room, his personal pictures, among them the portrait of his wife. On the shelves, some wooden sculptures, some pieces of old money, some trinkets. I left with a magnificent gift—a Hutsul collar."

Not only foreigners came flocking there. His compatriots were the most numerous among the visitors, cineasts or not, young, old, Ukrainians, Russians, Georgians, Armenians. Paradzhanov had discovered a language, a source of inspiration. An enormous force emanated from him; it inspired others.

He worked prodigiously. Scenario after scenario left his work table. *The Confession*—on the return of a man "of a certain age" to the quarter of old Tbilisi where he was born. *The Intermezzo*—after the Ukrainian classic of Kotsyubynsky (which had already inspired him for *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors*). *The Demon*—after Lermontov; *The Fountain of Bakhchisarai*—after Pushkin. And his great cherished project, the ancient Russian epic *The Lay of Igor's Campaign*. In all, ten of his scenarios were refused in the ten years that followed the triumph of *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors*.

He shot his next and last film in

deal with universal concepts of good and evil and not class or Party-mindedness. There is a flow of difficult films and now they grow 'more difficult and still more difficult.'" (T. Ivanov in the Soviet film magazine *Sovietsky Ekran*, No. 24, 1969.)

Again no work for Paradzhanov. Until the eve of his arrest, when the television accepted his proposal to bring to the small screen some tales of Hans Christian Andersen. Too late. . . .

One would have expected that the arrest and conviction of the most important Soviet cineast of today would provoke a flood of protests throughout the world. That a campaign would be organized for his immediate liberation. That Soviet dissidents in the country and abroad would launch an appeal to the conscience of the representatives of world culture, to the cineasts of all continents. That the Soviet authorities would be pressed for public evidence to support their charges.

But nothing happened. Or almost nothing. After news of the arrest of Paradzhanov there was a protest signed by the celebrated names of the European cinema, a few of whom later tried to retract their signatures, pretending to believe that it was truly only a matter of criminal law. After the conviction, not a word. Silence.

The other day I explained to a group of friends how the language of *Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors* and of *Sayat-Nova*—the exaltation of the values of the national tradition of those ancestors, Ukrainian, Armenian, and others—was an intolerable challenge, not only to the dismal conformism of an official art and cinema.

One of those present turned to me, ironically, "You aren't going to say that they sent him to prison for his aesthetics?"

'Paradzhanov isn't a political man, but he is a man. As such he refused to make the self-criticisms in which the most prudent always excel. And he allied himself with the persecuted.'

Armenia, inspired by the life and work of a great poet of the past, Sayat-Nova, entitled *Color of Pomegranates*. Shot in 1969, the film waited three years for release—without any publicity—in a limited number of theaters (at the outset three prints in all were made). This time, though, not only its author, but also the film no longer left Soviet territory.

Again the pilgrimages began—to the author, of course, but especially to the work.

Professor Herbert Marshall, a friend and pupil of S.M. Eisenstein and the English translator of his theoretical work, gave this account: "In a visit last summer to the Soviet Union I discovered an entirely new cinematic genius who is being treated by the authorities in exactly the same manner as his now-famous predecessors."

"His *Color of Pomegranates* has been shelved since 1969 but was shown last year in a third-circuit Moscow cinema after being re-edited against Paradzhanov's wishes. . . . In my view Paradzhanov is, along with Andrei Tarkovsky, leading a second golden age of Soviet cinema which could match that of Eisenstein and Dovzhenko—given the right conditions."

The only official response to *Sayat-Nova* was some articles in the specialized press warning against the wave of "difficult films."

"They are films that are poetic parables, generalized metaphors, and

No, I don't assert that. No more than Pushkin was killed for his aesthetics. Or Lermontov. Or Mayakovsky. . . . But then?*

The "nonaesthetic" problems of Sergei Paradzhanov began several years ago in Minsk. There he declared in a public assembly that the Ukrainian leadership was composed of imbeciles whom he had always known how to fool until then and that he hoped to succeed also in the future.

From that time the difficulties began, becoming more and more serious. At the same time the films of Paradzhanov, and with them their author, became more and more the symbols of this new flowering of truly national art which manifested itself in all the Soviet republics and not just in the cinema.

Paradzhanov isn't a political man, but he is a man. As such he refused to make the self-criticisms in which the most prudent always excel. And he allied himself with the persecuted, even signing petitions in their favor.

In ten years he had shot two films. They had refused ten of his scenarios. They didn't let him work. He lived thanks to the help of friends who offered him small acting roles, a collaboration on a script here and there.

*Aleksandr Sergeevich Pushkin and Mikhail Yurievich Lermontov were poets who were persecuted for their liberal views under tsarism. Vladimir Vladimirovich Mayakovsky was a futurist poet and Bolshevik who committed suicide in 1930.

Surrounded by the popular art that he knew and loved, he made gifts. If he sold some for reasons of his own, we don't know anything about it. But speculator? For whom do you take us?

His rooms were "crammed with antiques, pictures, icons, pottery, tapestry, carpets, bric-a-brac," wrote Herbert Marshall. Paradzhanov told him, "People come to my house and exclaim, my God, how many things you have got stuffed in here. Yet it seems to me that I haven't enough."

But above all, he was different from others, and he didn't avoid provocation. Where conformism reigns, this is an unpardonable crime. Herbert Marshall comments: "More seriously, his natural Armenian ebullience and enthusiasm have led some critical colleagues to say, 'He's crazy, of course,' or 'He's kind of mad'—dangerous words in a state where psychiatry seems to form an arm of oppression. An instance of his 'craziness' given me was that on one of his films when smoke was needed and there were no smoke bombs available, Paradzhanov tore off a piece of trouser leg and set fire to it to provide the effect."

Homosexual! What horror! And what is more, what do we know about it? The director Henry Gabay, Paradzhanov's friend for many years, since they both attended classes with Savchenko, recounts: "At the beginning of the '50s he married a girl little suited for him, from a family of solid bureaucrats who had even served abroad. For him it was mad love. They were married in Tbilisi, at Sergei's mother's home. A son was born to them, Syrenchik. But the parents of his wife never accepted him. After two years the marriage was shipwrecked. I have often seen Sergei sad, plunged in the memory of Svetlana and of the little one who now lived in a large apartment where he wasn't admitted."

What is it then that we're looking at? Not even Stalin had insisted on the sexual habits of S.M. Eisenstein. But the students at VGIK (the Moscow Cinema Institute) pass this joke from one generation to the other as one of the memories of a bygone epoch: "You know who is the offspring born of the liaison between Sergei Mikhailovich [Eisenstein] and the late dear Professor Geinike [of the Soviet Film Institute]? Sergei Guerassimov [a conservative Soviet film director, most representative of "socialist realism"]."

Where does all this lead us? An artist of genius is in prison. They first reduced him to silence and stopped him from working. They slandered him. They proved nothing. They arrested him, tried him, and condemned him in secret. And the world is silent—his colleagues, his admirers, even the victims of the same police.

Why? Because the man wasn't like others, because he was difficult to classify, "naturally crazy." And at the same time, the whole world—without demanding the slightest proof—pretends to believe the slanders and assertions of this same police who for tens of years . . . What a victory! And what shame!

Is it really true that we are always ready to say nothing with cowardly relief that they offer us some acceptable excuse? Or do we believe along with Herbert Marshall that even "all that which happens to the Soviet artists concerns us—just as everything which happens to American artists and others concerns the Soviets also. All that they create belongs to us as well as to them. The genius belongs to humanity. And art belongs to all those who inhabit the earth."

He is speaking of Sergei Paradzhanov. It is high time that we begin to speak also. In a very loud voice.



The common enemy in Boston

"If you're really for women's rights you have to be against forced busing," proclaimed a leader of ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) after breaking up a pro-Equal Rights Amendment rally in Boston on April 9.

The truth is the opposite: you cannot side with the racists in their attack on the Black community's right to desegregate the schools without attacking women's rights at the same time.

The reactionary organizations, such as ROAR, have a goal broader than maintaining segregated schools. Their goal is to beat back the struggles of all those demanding equality. Their goal is to keep women and Blacks "in their place," robbing us of the gains we have made thus far and stopping us from gaining any more.

In the same breath these racists whip up hysteria against busing and against abortion rights. Kenneth Edelin, a Black physician in Boston, was convicted of manslaughter for performing a legal abortion. His indictment was engineered by the same forces who oppose busing.

At a reception held recently in Chicago, Edelin told the gathering that his main concern has been insuring that women, especially poor Black women, receive quality health care. When asked if he saw any correlation between his case and the racist antibusing campaign, Edelin said, "The jurors spent a lot of time talking about busing while they were confined. I understand that all but one of the jurors were violently opposed to busing."

On April 9 the ROAR fanatics extended their campaign further. They brought 200 hooligans to break up a meeting in support of the Equal Rights Amendment sponsored by the Massachusetts Governor's Commission on the Status of Women. As women's rights activists rose to speak, the racists drowned them out, chanting "Stop forced busing" and singing "Southie is My Home Town."

It has become clear that the anti-Black forces in

Boston are also antiwoman and that a united fight must be carried out to stop them.

The Coalition to Defend Abortion Rights (CDAR) in Boston has called for a week of activity, April 26-May 3, around the country to defend Dr. Edelin and abortion rights.

In Boston the activities will include a conference on High School Women and Abortion as well as a seminar on Black and Third World Women and Abortion. The major event of the week in Boston will be a march and rally on Saturday, May 3. The marchers will gather at Copley Square at 11:30 a.m. and march to the Boston Common for a rally at 12:30. Speakers will include Edelin, Dr. Barbara Roberts, State Rep. Elaine Noble, Thomas Atkins of the NAACP, and Florence Luscomb.

Because of the recent right-wing attack on the ERA meeting, CDAR has received many letters expressing concern that the same thing not happen to the May 3 rally.

"We have sent a letter signed by our endorsers," said Reba Williams of CDAR, "to the commissioner of police requesting protection of our democratic right to hold a public rally. But we are not stopping there. We are calling on all groups and endorsers of this rally to mobilize to make the biggest demonstration possible, and we are requesting that every organization supply a specific number of marshals."

A large show of strength on May 3 in Boston, along with the activities being scheduled in cities around the country, can make an impact on the reactionary drive in Boston.

The May 3 demonstration will be one blow. The second blow will be the May 17 demonstration called by the NAACP to stop the racist violence and desegregate the schools.

Now is the time for every feminist and every women's organization to join with the Black community in a united fight against a common enemy. All out for May 3 and all out for May 17!

federal charge from it.

How about some articles on the communal and social ways of the Native Americans? I don't believe the average American knows what our struggle is all about. It's more than a land issue, that is just the base of it. The culture and the right to heritage and traditions are the main issues.

*A prisoner
Kansas*

Name change

A Labor Department agency has announced that 3,500 jobs will be renamed in order "to achieve some degree of neutrality and sexlessness." Busboys are now dining room attendants; governesses are child monitors; bridal consultants are wedding consultants.

If the name changes are followed up with an effort to change the unequal pay, hiring, and promotion practices between men and women, then it's all to the good.

The agency neglected, however, to change its own name: the Manpower Administration.

E.J.

New York, New York

Fiction?

An article concerning the Middle Eastern crisis, appearing in the April 11 *Militant*, must be classified as fiction, as it states that Israel occupies the land of various Arab governments.

Israel belongs to the Jewish People, and it was on this ground that our Jewish Homeland was reestablished in 1948. Through subsequent wars, Israel regained the land which has always been rightfully hers by its very creator, who is our Creator.

From a nonhistorical point of view, the West Bank of the River Jordan, the Golan Heights, and the Sinai Peninsula no longer belong to the Arabs, but now belong to Israel through military victory.

It is interesting to note how few people doubt Colombia's independence from Spain. It must be made clear, however, that Israel has no natural right to remaining Arab territories; continued penetration would be unjustified. Israel is a special land which can be replaced by no other.

Rebecca Subar

Rochester, New York

Gift sub

I have subscribed to the *Militant* since December of 1974, and I have certainly enjoyed reading it in these past four months. Although I do not always agree with your views, it is nonetheless a pleasure reading such refreshingly varied viewpoints, many of which I do completely agree with.

I have enclosed one dollar with which to begin an introductory, two-month subscription to the *Militant* for my cousin, to whom I have lent several *Militants*. I hope that she will continue subscribing after this introductory subscription.

Lee Samore

Pocatello, Idaho

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Challenge to construction unions

The building-trades unions, which began negotiations in April for more than 3,500 contracts nationally, have been hard hit by the twin evils of unemployment and inflation. It is estimated that unemployment within the industry is as high as 35 percent nationally.

On top of this, construction workers have steadily lost ground through inflation. Construction workers don't have escalator clauses, and they are condemned to see their wages constantly outdistanced by prices. They have also been hamstrung by government wage controls exercised through the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee, which was set up in 1971. The CISC, from 1971 to 1973 was headed by John Dunlop, the Harvard economics professor who has since been promoted to Secretary of Labor.

Now the bosses, with the help of Dunlop, are trying to use the pressure of mass unemployment in the industry to drive down wages and even further chip away at union control of job conditions.

On April 1, President Ford signed an executive order creating a construction industry labor-management committee for "more effective collective bargaining in the industry." The new committee is headed by Dunlop.

The real purpose of this latest presidential advisory agency, put succinctly in a Labor Department news release, is "taking steps to increase construction productivity under collective bargaining agreements."

Dunlop's new Collective Bargaining Committee is out to intervene on behalf of the contractors to simplify and standardize job classifications, eliminate craft jurisdictions, reduce work crews, establish uniform regional wage scales at the lowest possible level, and impose open-shop methods of construction that are already operative in more than 60 percent of the industry.

The Contractors Mutual Association and the Construction Industry Management Board are dead set

against any cost-of-living increases in the new contracts—unless, as they say, they can "eliminate all the costly work rules."

The officials of the building trades have been on the retreat for the past five years, and the union membership is paying the price. Blinded by their craft-union mentality, and desperately clinging to their reactionary perspective of maintaining their unions as white job trusts, these officials have been easy prey for the Dunlop gang.

Union officials have been retreating on most work rules, allowing contractors a free hand in work methods, tools, and mechanization. All this has been traded away for "recognition," the right of the union to negotiate for the work force and collect dues. This defensive posture has led these officials to participate in all the government wage-cutting boards. They fear that if they do not participate, the plans will go ahead without them as antiunion projects.

In some recent instances, under the lash of unemployment, wage standards have even been abandoned. In Westchester County, New York, the building trades have agreed to "emergency employment" on county projects at wages 40 or 50 percent below union scale.

Construction workers, some of whom will be demonstrating in Washington April 26, would be among the first to benefit if the government could be forced to undertake a really massive public works program to combat unemployment and at the same time meet the urgent need for new housing, schools, hospitals, and transportation.

These government projects ought to be planned and directed under workers' control, by those who know how to do the work, and at union wages. No private contractors should be invited to enrich themselves at the public's expense.

This is what the building-trades unions ought to be demanding of Washington.



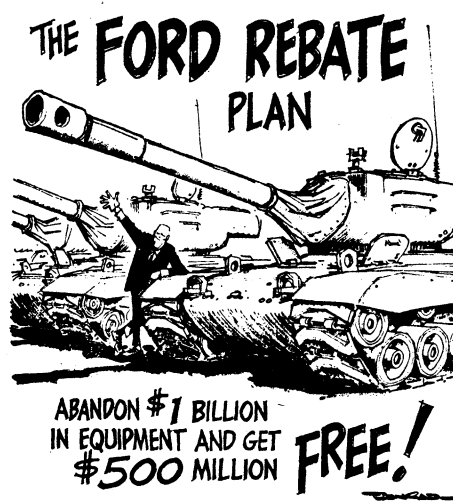
Nothing's perfect—Some 5,000 gallons of radioactive waste leaked from an underground storage tank at the Hanford Atomic Reservation in Washington State. It was the nineteenth leak since 1958. An Atlantic Richfield Hanford spokesman said such leaks are undesirable but not really hazardous. More can be expected, he explained, because the tanks are getting old.

Spotless leopard—Charles Evers, Black mayor of Fayette, Mississippi, told students at Sacramento City College in California that he may support George Wallace for president. "There is no person more dedicated

than a converted racist," Evers said. "Wallace has done some tremendous things since he was shot in the gut." He didn't say what.

Adding-injury-to-insult dept.—According to the ASH (Action on Smoking and Health) newsletter, President Ford ordered eighty cast aluminum ashtrays for Air Force One and its backup plane. Each tray costs fifty dollars.

The cloud with the nutty lining—Hoody's, an Oregon company producing peanut butter since 1913, reports sales are now going very well indeed.



"When times are bad," a representative explained, "peanut butter sales are good. It's a cheap source of protein."

Give 'em a WIN button—*Value Today*, a London magazine offering tips on how to beat inflation, folded after six issues. The editor said, "Costs have gone up so much we were losing on every issue."

Thrifty Dick—During the Nixon years, about \$91,000 was spent to refurbish his White House bedroom, including \$5,000 for an antique bed, \$450 for box springs, and \$10,700 for curtains and bedcovers.

Their Government

Cindy Jaquith



Ford's public service jobs—for bosses

WASHINGTON—We haven't heard too much lately about those public service jobs that President Ford promised on an "emergency" basis several months ago. Instead, Ford and Congress are bickering over how many millions of dollars to spend propping up a pro-American regime in Vietnam.

In the meantime, the jobless lines are growing longer and longer, particularly for Blacks, women, and young people.

For corporate executives, however, there is a public service job program, one that's not too well publicized for obvious reasons. It's called the Presidential Executive Interchange Program (PEIP).

PEIP was started in 1969 by President Lyndon Johnson. The way it works is that bosses from the giant corporations are hired by the federal government for a year or two at the expense of us taxpayers. They are then returned to the companies that "loaned" them.

The rip-off involved here is more than just executive-level salaries paid out, as a recent congressional study has proven.

The study was done by a subcommittee of the House Permanent Select Committee on Small Business. A more appropriate name might be the Select Committee on Corporate Price-Gougers.

The study notes that PEIP is aimed at "fostering a closer relationship and better understanding between industry and Government." That's putting it mildly.

An example of this "better understanding is the 330 percent increase in the price of propane in 1973. How did the energy monopoly get away with this one? The government watchdog supposed to be curbing such profiteering just happened to be one Robert Bowen, a PEIP executive who used to work guess where? The Phillips Petroleum Company.

Bowen was "loaned" by Phillips to work in the Office of the Energy Adviser in the Treasury Department. In addition to rigging federal regulations to boost oil profits, he was full of other helpful hints, such as suggesting that the government relax environmental standards.

It turns out that Bowen's provident placement in the Office of the Energy Adviser was not unusual. The subcommittee also learned of other convenient

job placements through the PEIP program.

For example, Exxon executive Wiley Custer "just happened" to get placed in the Treasury Department's international office, a strategic location for oil policy. Shell Oil succeeded in getting one of its agents hired by the Environmental Protection Agency. And American Airlines wangled their man onto a project in the Federal Aviation Administration.

Of course these companies all paid their dues to get into PEIP. According to a subcommittee memo obtained by columnist Jack Anderson, "Of the 29 companies that participated in PEIP in 1973-1974 . . . 28 [employed individuals who] were contributors to the 1972 Nixon campaign, and 24 contributed \$10,000 or more."

All of this has led the congressional subcommittee to draw the astounding conclusion that PEIP may pose "a conflict of interest" in this great government of ours.

Abolish PEIP? That couldn't possibly be done without more hearings, says the subcommittee. Besides, 1976 promises to be a good year for PEIP bids.

The American Way of Life

Things are tough all over?

General Motors announced this month that its top executives took a 68.3 percent pay cut for 1974 because of a reported 60 percent decline in the company's profits. The poor souls passed up their bonuses—which in 1973 ranged upwards from \$500,000—to settle for their salaries alone. These amounted to only \$272,250 for Chairman Thomas Murphy, a mere \$263,250 for President Elliott Estes, and \$277,333 for retired chairman Richard Gerstenberg—a pittance!

The depression is bad news for everybody, they would like to have us believe—rich and poor alike. The real state of affairs, however, is something else.

The rich are getting richer and working people are getting poorer. That's the conclusion of several recent studies that understandably haven't made the headlines.

The AFL-CIO's research department has found that since 1968 the share of the national income going to the top 40 percent has increased while the share going to the lower 60 percent has decreased. The shift amounted to some \$20 billion that went out of the pockets of the lower three-fifths of American families into the pockets of the upper two-fifths.

Families making \$6,000 to \$10,000 a year—largely workers in semiskilled and unskilled jobs—suffered

the worst losses. Their share of total income dropped from 12.4 percent in 1968 to 11.9 percent in 1973.

The greatest gains, on the other hand, went to the upper 20 percent, those with incomes above \$19,000. Their share went from 40.5 percent in 1968 to 41.1 percent of total income in 1973.

Other studies cited by the AFL-CIO research department, reported in the March issue of the *American Federationist*, explode the myth that the corporations in this country are owned by masses of people through widespread stock ownership, rather than by a small ruling class. A Commerce Department survey showed that the richest 1 percent of families own 51 percent of the value of all stock.

In another study, James Smith of Pennsylvania State University found that more than three-fourths of all Americans own no stock at all. And of the 23.5 percent who do own some, 5 percent own more than half the total value.

What about profits? The AFL-CIO research department reports that after-tax profits of all American corporations went up by 17 percent in 1971, 25 percent in 1972, and 26 percent in 1973. In 1974, as the country plunged into the recession, corporate profits still climbed by almost 18 percent, according to the *Federationist*.

Clearly the situation at General Motors is not indicative of the fortunes of U.S. corporations as a whole—assuming we can trust GM's figures on its own profits, which is not a safe bet.

Now compare these steadily rising profits of the corporations with the situation of the average worker in this country, who at the end of 1974 was taking home \$139 a week. According to Labor Department statistics, after taking account of inflation and taxes, this average family could buy no more than it could ten years ago.

Another revealing figure was made public by the Labor Department on April 8. The government calculates that to maintain a "moderate" standard of living, an urban family of four would require an income of \$14,300. This was \$1,733 more than what they said was required the previous year, the biggest jump since they started compiling the statistic in 1966.

The figures on what percentage of American families actually were able to achieve this "moderate" standard of living are not out yet, but in 1973 the "modest but adequate" level set by the government turned out to be about \$600 more than the median family income of \$12,051.

—Caroline Lund

Washington State: students, teachers, and parents unite in fight to 'save our schools'

By Harold Schlechtweg

OLYMPIA, Washington, April 17—"It was the largest public demonstration, according to those who could recollect, since the 1933 hunger march on Olympia." That was how Shelby Scates, Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* political writer, described a rally by more than 5,000 high school students on the steps of Washington's state capitol building.

The April 15 student rally came a week after the most widespread rejection of school levies in the history of Washington. School levies, which must be approved by voters, are a special form of property tax that pays for a substantial share of the public schools' basic operating costs.

The purpose of the rally was to demand state funding to replace money lost as a result of school-levy failures. Most of the students came from Western Washington, where the effect of the school-levy losses has been devastating. In Seattle, Washington's largest school district, 1,670 teachers and administrators have received lay-off notices.

In the wake of the levy losses, the response by students, teachers, and the community has been swift and dramatic.

'Save our teachers'

- More than 1,200 students at Denny Junior High School in west Seattle walked out of classes April 11 and

Teachers take strike vote

SEATTLE, April 21—The Seattle Alliance of Educators voted overwhelmingly today to authorize a strike. The vote was taken at a meeting here of teachers, paraprofessionals, and clerical workers. The meeting, called by the Seattle Teachers Association, voted 3,530 to 672 in favor of strike authorization, but has set no deadline for a strike. The SAE is an umbrella organization initiated by the STA.

rallied in the street demanding, "Save our teachers!" That same day, some 200 students from predominantly Black and Asian Franklin High School marched several miles to Seattle's city hall chanting, "Save our schools!" Sporadic walkouts and demonstrations are continuing at schools throughout Western Washington.

- Also on April 11, the Washington Education Association called on its locals around the state, whether or not levies failed in their districts, to vote for strike authorization as a weapon to force the legislature to provide more school funds. The WEA has estimated that 5,000 teachers throughout the state will lose their jobs as a result of levy failures.

The WEA is the collective bargaining organization for 36,000 teachers in 227 locals throughout the state.

- The Seattle Teachers Association, Seattle affiliate of the WEA, scheduled a strike authorization vote for April 21. The STA represents 4,700 teachers, secretaries, aides, and nurses.

William Haroldson, STA president, said, "Our position is we will strike at the appropriate time when the legislature is sitting on its hands and not taking effective action."

- The Seattle Parent-Teacher-Student Association (PTSA) Council voted April 13 at an emergency meeting to support a "work stoppage by all Seattle Public School employees" to



Militant/Toby Emmerich
Five thousand high school students rally on steps of capitol in Olympia. Schools will be closed and thousands of teachers in state will lose jobs if more money isn't found.

show the legislature the need for full state funding of public schools. The PTSA vote ignored an earlier recommendation by council leaders for neutrality if teachers and other school employees struck because of the levy failures.

The resolution of support was proposed by Ardis Palmer, of Franklin High School. "I think we have to back our teachers this time," Palmer said. "It's a strike for all of us. The least we can do is say, 'The PTA is behind you. Go to it.'"

- The Lake Washington School Board voted unanimously April 10 to close all district schools on April 17 so that students, teachers, and parents could march on Olympia to ask for adequate school funding. The school board meeting was attended by 1,000 people.

Other school districts where levies failed are also planning marches on Olympia.

Black community support

The impetus for much of the protest activity has come from Seattle's Black community, particularly hard hit by school-levy loss. James Ferguson, a leader of the April 15 student demonstration and a student at Garfield High School, described the effect of the levy failure on Garfield.

"As far as teachers go, there are 62 teachers at Garfield now, and next year there will only be 32 . . . the total now of all teachers, and staff employees and everything is 107. Next year it will be 44.

"And I don't know how many people will be cut off the lunchroom, custodial, or security. But there will be fewer."

Sentiment in favor of teachers is running high in Seattle's Black community. Many of those who spoke in favor of supporting the possible teachers' strike at the April 13 PTSA meeting came from Seattle's predominantly Black Central Area.

Teachers at the Central Area's Madrona Middle School received a note from the mother of one of their students saying, "What I want you each to know is that our family will support whatever you deem necessary, including a strike to close the schools. Such a strike will create a hardship in our family—but that's OK."

Teachers laid off

Madrona Middle School, like other schools in the Central Area, will suffer heavily from the proposed cutbacks. There are now forty-seven teachers at Madrona. Forty-two of them have been notified that they will not be rehired. At predominantly Black Coleman Elementary all of the teachers have

received "nonrenewal notices," signifying that they will be fired at the end of the school year.

Unless the fight against the layoffs is won, there will be a number of school closings in the Seattle area. The Seattle School Board, which was counting on the school levy for 42 percent of next year's operating costs, has announced that it will close from twenty to twenty-four elementary schools.

And, unless the state legislature can be forced to replace those lost funds, Seattle's middle, junior, and senior high schools may lose their accreditation with the state.

What this means was explained in a brochure published by the Seattle School Board before the special levy election: "Without full accreditation, it is more difficult to enter—or to survive entry—in some colleges. *More important, kids who attend fully-accredited schools have an edge over those who don't when it comes to competing for jobs and just about everything else in life.*"

Washington's Governor Daniel Evans is expected to recommend to the legislature a 1.2 percent increase in the state sales tax to replace funds lost as a result of the school-levy failures.

It is unlikely that this new tax scheme will win support among Washington's hard-pressed working people. The April 8 vote against the increase in property taxes wasn't a vote against schools. It was a vote against the

heavy burden of taxation.

There is another approach for funding education that is winning increasing support. That proposal is contained in a statement by the Socialist Workers party candidates for Seattle City Council and King County Council. The statement reads, in part:

"Regardless of how they voted on April 8th [the day of the school-levy vote], working people in Seattle all agree that our kids need good education and that there must be a better way to finance schools than the special property tax levies or other new taxes that we just can't afford.

"Why is there no money for schools in the richest country in the world? The answer isn't hard to find. In the last few years, while our living standards have been declining, big business has been raking in record profits. Meanwhile, the federal government takes nearly half our tax dollars for the war budget. This year over \$100 billion will go for arms spending. . . .

"We must demand that the state and federal government come up with the money for education. And we must make it clear that we won't stand for further taxes that put the burden on working people and the poor. Let them eliminate the war budget, close the corporate tax loopholes, and tax the profits of big business—they can well afford it!

"If the school crisis is to be solved we can't rely on the Republican and Democratic party politicians, the ones who got us into it in the first place. We must rely on ourselves—on the power of our numbers. Already a statewide teachers strike is being discussed, the Black community is mobilizing and high school students are taking action. Teachers, students and parents are marching on Olympia.

"We fully support these actions. A statewide teachers strike combined with mass demonstrations can force the legislature to find the money for schools. . . .

"We urge the Seattle Teachers Association in collaboration with the Central Area School Council to initiate and organize a massive statewide demonstration in Olympia that can win the support of the entire labor movement, community, church and civic organizations—a demonstration to show the strength and numbers of all those who are concerned with decent education. That's the way to win our demand for full funding! The money is there!"



Militant/Toby Emmerich
Demonstrators take break beside Young Socialist Alliance literature table. Socialists demand elimination of war budget and taxing big business to pay for schools.

A chapter of labor history

Roosevelt's attack on workers who

This week the Militant continues serialization of excerpts from three chapters of *Teamster Politics*, a forthcoming new book by Farrell Dobbs on the labor movement in the 1930s. In last week's selection, Dobbs described the outbreak of a spontaneous nationwide strike in July 1939 by workers on the federal government's Works Progress Administration (WPA) projects. The strike came in response to wage cuts and massive layoffs ordered by Roosevelt.

(Did you miss the first two parts of this series? For copies of the April 18 and April 25 issues, send fifty cents to the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.)

By Farrell Dobbs

(Third of a series)

In Minneapolis . . . a firm basis had been laid during previous struggles to press for coordinated action by the trade unions and the unemployed movement. It was no big problem to arrange consultation between the local Building Trades Council and [Teamster] Local 544's unemployed unit [the Federal Workers Section]. As a result, agreement was quickly reached to combine in demanding restoration of the union wage scale for skilled workers, increased pay for unskilled labor, and jobs for all in both categories. A Joint Action Committee was then established to lead the struggle for those demands.

Locally, the Workers Alliance officials found it impossible to follow their national line of delaying action until July 20. In view of the strikers' militancy, they felt it expedient to formally endorse the walkout. That, in turn, made it possible to draw them, none too willingly, into the Joint Action Committee initiated by the Building Trades Council and the Federal Workers Section.

Picketing was then organized under the direction of the Committee of Five Hundred, which had been formed by the FWS. Apart from a few minor incidents, no difficulty was experienced in keeping the projects closed down. That enabled the strikers to spend considerable time distributing special bulletins, printed by the *Northwest Organizer*, so that the workers generally would have their side of the story. In addition, regular meetings were held to keep everyone informed of developments and to help maintain a staunch fighting spirit.

Before long, Glotzbach, as state WPA director, made a public request to the Minneapolis police for help to reopen the local projects. Immediately thereafter the Joint Action Committee leading the walkout met with him and presented the following

demands: no reprisals against any strikers; recognition of the Building Trades Council's right to remain on strike and to picket for union wages; all projects requiring skilled labor to remain closed. A mass rally was then held at which the strikers voted to support those demands, which had been refused by Glotzbach.

As Max Goldman recollected the reasoning behind the Joint Action Committee's course: "FWS policy was that we didn't call a strike on the projects, but we were supporting the walkout officially voted by the building-trades unions. We felt that such a position would help to protect our members from the threat implied in Roosevelt's stand that 'You can't strike against the government,' a dictate that the official labor movement was in a far better situation than us to openly defy. The line that was adopted gave the unskilled laborers a kind of umbrella under which to proceed with the necessary action, and at the same time our support of the building trades workers served to strengthen trade-union ties with the unemployed movement."

Government threats

Events were soon to show that there was good cause for the FWS leaders to try as best they could to protect the membership from victimization. On July 13 Attorney General Frank Murphy stated to the press: "There must be no strike against the government of the United States by anyone, anywhere, at any time. . . . Those leaders who have moved to exploit the protests of WPA workers in violation of the federal statutes will be prosecuted."

Murphy added that federal district attorneys had been instructed to keep a close watch on activities of WPA strike leaders. He singled out Minneapolis, especially, as a spot where "evidence of labor racketeering or criminal conspiracy against the nation's relief program" may "result in indictments."

There were several reasons why Minneapolis was getting such close attention from the Roosevelt administration. Through the initiative of the Federal Workers Section, extensive unity had been forged between the employed and unemployed workers of the city. Use of the resultant class power had wrested substantial concessions from the authorities in the WPA sphere and in the allocation of city relief. Those achievements had come to serve, in turn, as beacon lights for the jobless nationally. Labor in Minneapolis was now conducting the most effective strike in the country against the WPA cuts. Small wonder, therefore, that a gang-up against Local 544's auxiliary unit was instituted at all levels of government.

The counterattack began with an attempt to reopen the federal sewing project, organized by the FWS and located at 123 North Second Street. WPA officials telephoned the workers enrolled in the project, a great majority of them women, telling

them that they must return to the job or they would be summarily fired.

Then, toward noon on Friday, July 14, the Minneapolis police turned up at the establishment in force. Besides the usual clubs and revolvers, those on foot carried riot guns, and they were backed up by six armored cars. Soon after the cops arrived, a handful of strikebreakers headed for the entrance to the building. At that point the forces of "law and order" launched a tear-gas attack on the pickets and escorted the finks inside.

Bloody police riot

By the time of the 7:00 P.M. shift change, some five thousand strikers had gathered at the scene, along with about an equal number of sympathizers. They had come to voice a massive protest against the noon attack, but the capitalist authorities were not willing to accord them even that elementary democratic right. Shortly before the scheduled change in shifts, the armored cars were stationed at strategic points, one right in front of the project door. A few minutes later an assault was made on the empty-handed protesters, just as the scabs were being herded out of the building. Moving with the support of a tear-gas barrage, the cops advanced on the assembled demonstrators, firing at them from point-blank range. Even after the crowd broke and ran, the minions of the law continued their shooting and clubbing.

A sixty-year-old jobless worker, Emil Bergstrom, was shot dead. Many were wounded by the flying lead and flailing clubs, including a little girl and a little boy. Seventeen were injured seriously enough to require hospitalization.

Within twenty-four hours of the police riot, an emergency meeting of workers' representatives, qualified to speak for the entire labor movement of the city, adopted a resolution vigorously protesting the unprovoked assault on unarmed strikers.

Shortly after the adoption of this angry protest, funeral services were held for Emil Bergstrom at the AFL's central headquarters. Thousands then escorted his remains to the cemetery. Max Goldman gave the memorial address. In the course of his remarks to the strikers, who had come to pay last respects to their martyred class brother, he said:

"Emil Bergstrom will take his place along Henry Ness and John Belor [who were murdered by the Minneapolis cops during the 1934 Teamster strike]. . . .

"We must struggle not only to repeal the vicious Woodrum relief bill. We must also build for a society where labor shall not have to ask for relief, where labor may enjoy those blessings which it now produces for others."

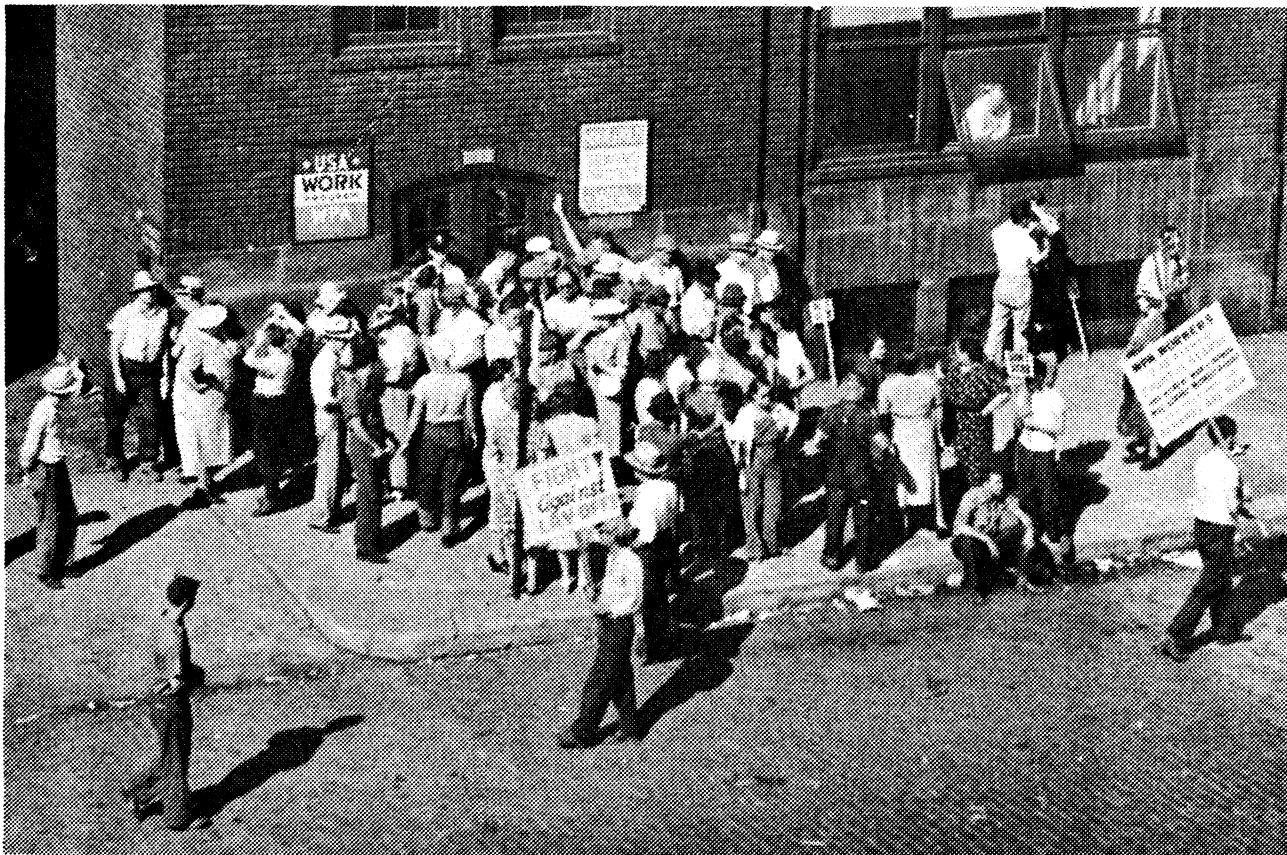
Stalinist strikebreaking

At the July 15 meeting, where labor's collective protest against the police attack was adopted, there was one point on which those present were not unanimous. Delegates from the Workers Alliance objected to criticisms of the Roosevelt administration contained in the document. No one was taken by surprise, however. The Stalinists running the WA had been trying unsuccessfully to get motions passed at strike meetings calling for the reelection of Roosevelt in 1940. So their objections were simply overridden and the criticisms of the White House gang remained in the protest resolution.

About the same time, WA President David Lasser paid a brief visit to the city and stated to the boss press that the strike should be called off. Working-class disgust over his conduct was reflected in the July 20 *Northwest Organizer*, which referred to him as "the man who developed an 18-inch tongue by constantly licking the boots of the national administration."

According to the July 16 *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, Lasser also said in a telegram to Roosevelt: "To further avoid shooting innocent people by power drunk reactionaries, and to give Congress opportunity to deliberate relief law changes in atmosphere of calm and reason, we are polling national board Workers Alliance on question temporarily ending all WPA jobs stoppages in which we are concerned, including suspension one-day national WPA protest planned for July 20. Workers Alliance has never and would not strike against the government."

Lasser was proposing that WA members in Minnesota and elsewhere break ranks in the strike



Picketing at site of police riot

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dared 'strike against the government'



Scabs rush out of federal sewing project under police guard on July 14, 1939. Cops laid down tear-gas barrage and fired point-blank on strike pickets and supporters.

and capitulate to Roosevelt. That finky notion didn't sit well with WA rank-and-filers. A number left the organization locally and went over to the Federal Workers Section. Since the FWS had also been recruiting hundreds of unorganized WPA workers during the heat of combat, it was continuing to gain in strength while the Workers Alliance was growing weaker in Minnesota.

'Rapidly approaching a revolution'

The ruling-class line in the aftermath of the July 14 police assault was indicated by Mayor Leach. He rushed a wire to Washington claiming that the city was "rapidly approaching a revolution" and demanding that Roosevelt send in federal troops. Governor Stassen also tried to divert attention from the outrage that had been committed against the strikers by making a vicious attack over the radio on the whole Minneapolis labor movement.

Elsewhere in the country, leadership defaults were taking their toll on the strike movement. In city after city the rebellious WPA workers were being forced back onto the projects and, as a consequence, organized labor in Minneapolis was becoming dangerously isolated in the fight against the federal government. In those circumstances it was necessary for the unskilled workers locally to make a planned retreat. Toward that end, negotiations were arranged between the Joint Action Committee and the WPA authorities. Settlement terms were argued out as follows:

The government waived its ruling that workers absent from their jobs five consecutive days would be fired, agreeing that all who had been removed from the rolls on that basis would be reinstated. An understanding was reached that members of the Building Trades Council would continue their refusal to work on WPA projects until the prevailing union wage was restored; also that they retained the right to picket if attempts were made to use scab labor. Unskilled workers were not to be called upon to go through picket lines. Projects that couldn't be operated without skilled mechanics were to remain closed; and in such cases any unskilled laborers involved were to be transferred to other projects.

Those terms were submitted to the strikers for approval on July 20, 1939—fifteen days after the walkout began. They were ratified at separate meetings of the Building Trades Council, the Federal Workers Section, and the Workers Alliance. After that the unskilled laborers returned to the projects, still showing excellent morale.

But there was one troublesome catch in the settlement. The Joint Action Committee had pressed for a commitment from the government

that there would be no reprisals against the strikers, and assurance was refused. Instead, the federal authorities claimed the "right" to require signed affidavits from the strikers attesting that they "have not engaged in illegal activities."

It was an ominous sign.

The frame-up begins

As far as the federal authorities were concerned, nothing was settled in Minneapolis. Although the unskilled laborers returned to their WPA jobs, they were still in a fighting mood. The building-trades mechanics were standing firm in their refusal to accept the pay cut. Both categories of workers had been outstandingly militant in defying Roosevelt's ban on strikes against the government. Therefore, it was soon learned, the president had decided to take punitive action against them. His object was to prevent further struggle against liquidation of the federal relief program, and to do that he first had to behead the Federal Workers Section.

Proceeding accordingly, U.S. Attorney General Frank Murphy launched a legal attack on the FWS. It opened right after the workers voted on July 20 to ratify the terms their Joint Action Committee had negotiated with the WPA administrators. Murphy began with public speculation about a "conspiracy" in the local walkout. On that premise he ordered a grand jury investigation "into charges that WPA strikers had interfered with persons wishing to work in Minneapolis and St. Paul."

Victor E. Anderson, the U.S. district attorney, followed up with an announcement that he was only waiting for a formal FBI report before implementing Murphy's order. During the national WPA strike, FBI agents had been sent into the principal areas of struggle to recruit scabs and gather evidence for prosecution. Their role as labor spies and agents provocateurs was clearly indicated by an account in the *Minneapolis Tribune* of July 24, 1939.

FBI labor spies

"The Federal Bureau of Investigation agents, about 25 of them," said the capitalist daily, "were in a good position to learn what took place around the sewing project in a series of riots July 14, it was disclosed Sunday. Wearing overalls and other articles of workmen's clothing, the agents, posing as pickets and onlookers, mingled with the crowd surging around the project building. . . . When the shooting and tear gas bombing started, the agents scattered with the rest of the crowd."

During its proceedings the grand jury called in scores of witnesses, drawn from four broad categories: WPA officials, FBI agents, Minneapolis cops,

and workers who had scabbed during the strike.

Then, on August 18, the grand jury indicted 103 of the Minneapolis WPA strikers. U.S. Attorney Anderson refused, however, to divulge the names of those involved. Instead, he subpoenaed officers of the Federal Workers Section and the AFL Central Labor Union to appear before the jury, where they were grilled in an effort to trick them into some damaging admission. After that, further indictments were announced, the process continuing until charges had been leveled against a total of 166 workers.

Most were accused of "conspiracy" to deprive the WPA of "workers' services" in violation of the Woodrum law. Several faced frame-up charges arising out of incidents during the strike, and some, it was later found, were named in more than one indictment.

Addressing itself to all trade unionists, the *Northwest Organizer* [declared] editorially: "The federal prosecution of the Minneapolis WPA strikers is a sharp warning to the labor movement of the nation that the national administration is deadly serious about its preparations for war and its campaign to hogtie organized labor. . . . It becomes clearer than ever that the national administration is seizing upon the WPA strike in Minneapolis as a pretext for crippling the powerful local labor movement in preparation for America's entry into the war [which had just broken out in Europe]."

Imprisoned workers organize

The arrested workers certainly didn't consider themselves criminals. They organized within the Hennepin County jail, where the federal government had put them, and elected Max Goldman as steward. Then they demanded and won the right to hold collective political discussions about the legal attack on the Federal Workers Section.

When the first indictments were announced, a committee to raise bail funds was chosen. It consisted of representatives from the Central Labor Union, Building Trades Council, Teamsters Joint Council, and Federal Workers Section. Next, a joint meeting of the executive boards of all AFL unions in the city was held. At that session a WPA defense committee was formed, one that could speak authoritatively for the AFL.

With that prestigious body speaking for the defense, it didn't take long to win added support from workers' organizations in the neighboring city of St. Paul. Financial contributions to raise bail and hire lawyers came from local unions in both cities. In addition, volunteers took to the streets selling tags for people to wear expressing solidarity with the defendants. Two things were gained in that way: individual protests against the frame-up were publicly registered and badly needed money was raised.

Among those arrested were about forty women, mostly workers on the WPA sewing project. Many had children who in some cases had no one else to depend on, and several were over fifty years of age.

Taken as a whole, the *Northwest Organizer* said: "The indicted make up a veritable cross-section of the city's population. There are young men and women who have never known what it is to hold down a job in private industry. There are World War [I] veterans. There are college graduates and there are workers who have toiled from childhood. There are Negroes and Irishmen, there are Jews and Catholics and Christian Scientists and Seventh Day Adventists. There are veteran union members and persons who for the first time in their lives participated in a strike and picket line. The one thing in common about all these people is that their economic situation was and is desperate."

(Next week: the frame-up trials)

Teamster history

TEAMSTER REBELLION by Farrell Dobbs. History of the 1934 strikes. 192 pp. Paper \$2.45, cloth \$6.95.

TEAMSTER POWER by Farrell Dobbs. Midwest organizing drive in 1930s. 255 pp. Paper \$2.95, cloth \$8.95.

Monad Press books. Distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

As Ford warns of 'bloodbath'

People of Pnompenh cheer liberators

By Peter Green

From Intercontinental Press

The population of Pnompenh gave a tumultuous welcome to the victorious Khmer Rouge troops when they entered the Cambodian capital on April 17.

"Three hours after the surrender," said an April 18 Associated Press dispatch, "thousands of students paraded along the main boulevards, waving banners to greet the Communist forces."

Crowds lined the streets, and from windows and roofs people "cheered and waved white strips of cloth as the black-clad troops walked triumphantly through the streets in groups of three or four." After five years of agonizing war, the only sounds of shooting came from the jubilant soldiers firing into the air.

"Communist troops reportedly embraced Government soldiers and lifted them aboard personnel carriers for a victory parade along the waterfront."

"Al Rockoff, a freelance American photographer, climbed on the hood of a jeep loaded with Communist-led soldiers, and the jeep drove up and down the streets."

"The popular enthusiasm is evident," said *Le Monde* correspondent Patrice de Beer in a dispatch from Pnompenh. "Groups form around the insurgents, who often carry American weapons. They are young, happy, surprised by their easy success. The republican soldiers quickly put up white flags. Processions form in the street and the refugees are starting to go home."

Scattered fighting was reported in a few enclaves held by the puppet forces, but most of them rapidly came under the control of the Khmer Rouge forces. In Poipet, on the border with Thailand, about 500 Khmer Rouge troops rode into town on captured jeeps. Many of them were girls and young boys, the April 20 *Washington Post* reported.

"From the border, 300 yards away, the reporters observed a Khmer Rouge leader addressing a large crowd and heard loud applause." About twenty soldiers later approached the border and shook hands with Thai civilians across the barbed wire barriers.

The final collapse of the puppet forces came just five days after Washington grudgingly admitted defeat and airlifted its remaining officials out of Pnompenh.

U.S. Ambassador John Gunther Dean had instructed his staff that he wanted the embassy "to go out in style, with dignity—not in panic like losers." The exit was anything but dignified, however.

The American officials had to scurry out by helicopter; their farewell committee consisted of a hundred or so staring children; Ambassador Dean left carrying the embassy flag in a plastic bag; and as soon as the helicopters lifted off, Cambodian military police ransacked the embassy and homes of the Americans.



Conrad

South Vietnam government seeks carrier for orphans to Switzerland.—News item



Victorious Khmer Rouge troops received tumultuous welcome as they rode into Pnompenh.

In the final weeks of the puppet regime, the feelings of the populace became more and more overt.

First students and then teachers demonstrated in Pnompenh demanding an end to U.S. aid. Leaflets calling for peace circulated.

The Last Days of Pnompenh

The morale of the puppet troops had never been high, but it sank lower and lower, until toward the end the soldiers were resorting to cannibalism. The eating of slain Khmer Rouge soldiers apparently became a common practice. A dispatch by Jacques Leslie in the April 6 *Los Angeles Times* reported that mutinous troops had killed and eaten their paymaster after not getting paid for four months. The soldiers accused their officers of pocketing their pay.

"Our commander had wine and pork and chicken while we ate grasshoppers," a soldier said. "The commander could use wine to wash his face. He had three or four girls with him. But if a soldier was sick and wanted to go to the hospital in Phnom Penh, he had to pay a 10,000 to 20,000 riels (\$5 to \$10) bribe to get a helicopter ride."

Right up to the final day the Pnompenh regime tried to squeeze the last dollar from the suffering of the people under its control. After the liberation of Pnompenh, an official of the United Nations Children's Fund revealed that the regime had compelled UN authorities to pay costly air-freight charges to fly powdered milk for starving children into the country aboard the government-owned airline rather than permit the relief supplies to be flown in free. One report said that UNICEF had been charged as much as \$1,000 a ton.

President Lon Nol skipped the country with his plunder April 1. After a ten-day holiday in Indonesia, he arrived in Hawaii for "medical treatment," and was met by Admiral Noel Gayler, the American Pacific commander. The U.S. government is footing the bill for his stay in Hawaii.

However, Washington's puppet ran into difficulties with some of his baggage. Events were moving too rapidly in both Cambodia and South Vietnam, and he apparently overestimated the stability of the fiefdom of his crony in Saigon. In late March, South Vietnamese officials asked a charter airline affiliated with Swissair to ferry out "some personal belongings"

of the Thieu family as well as some personal effects of Lon Nol. The airline declined after it discovered the baggage included sixteen tons of gold, worth \$73 million.

As the end neared in Pnompenh, Lon Nol concentrated on other personal problems. *New York Times* correspondent Sydney Schanberg reported that two days before the liberation of Pnompenh, "the National Bank of Cambodia sent a cablegram to the Irving Trust Company in New York, asking the American bank, where it presumably has dollar credits, to confirm that it was carrying out an earlier order to pay \$1-million to Marshal Lon Nol." The earlier order had been sent on April 1.

"Perhaps the marshal was worried that if Phnom Penh fell to the insurgents before the transaction was confirmed, he would never get the money," said Schanberg.

Whose Bloodbath?

After five years of war in Cambodia, Sydney Schanberg reported in the April 13 *New York Times*, there are "a million Cambodians killed or wounded (one seventh of the population), hundreds of thousands of refugees living in shanties, a devastated countryside, children dying of starvation and carpenters turning out a steady stream of coffins made from ammunition crates."

Having bequeathed this legacy to the people of Cambodia, any talk from Washington about a "bloodbath" following the rebel victory sounds like Hitlerite propaganda.

The actual liberation of Pnompenh itself belied such White House hand-outs to the press.

But reports of the mass of the population of Pnompenh cheering the Khmer Rouge as they entered the city is very dangerous news for Washington's propaganda machine, especially for its last-ditch maneuver to retain a toehold in Saigon by raising an alarm about a "bloodbath" of hundreds of thousands of "loyal" supporters there if the marines are not allowed to go in to rescue them.

So after the early reports from Pnompenh of the warm welcome given the Khmer Rouge and the rapid restoration of peace and order, the Western press began carrying stories about executions and beheadings, allegedly announced by the Khmer Rouge radio.

However, the April 20 *Washington Post* reported that the broadcast was not over the regular frequencies of either the Khmer Rouge radio or Pnompenh radio.

In fact, soon after they set up headquarters in Pnompenh, the Khmer Rouge invited all ministers and generals of the former regime "who have not run away" to meet and help formulate measures to restore order. The Khmer Rouge had previously listed "seven traitors" whom they advised to flee, but said they were willing to work with anyone else—feudal elements, landlords, and comprador capitalists included.

Le Monde correspondent Patrice de Beer reported that he had seen the prisoners held by the Khmer Rouge at their headquarters in the former Ministry of Information.

"The atmosphere was relaxed," he said. "The prisoners—Lon Non [brother of Lon Nol], many generals, some ministers—were laughing and chatting with soldiers. There was one 'super traitor,' former Premier Long Boret, who had given himself up and had been well received."

Negotiation Attempts

Although Norodom Sihanouk and the Khmer Rouge leaders stated repeatedly they would never negotiate with the Pnompenh regime, Joseph Kraft reported in the April 8 *Washington Post* that a feeler for negotiations had been rejected by Washington early in the summer of 1974.

"According to the highest French officials. . .," said Kraft, "at that time the rebels were pressing hard on the capital, Phnom Penh. But they were experiencing supply difficulties which promoted internal bickering. The Chinese hinted to the French that something might be arranged, provided the Lon Nol government was ready to step down."

"Paris conveyed the hint to Washington. Washington, according to the French, turned a deaf ear," said Kraft.

The reason Nixon and Kissinger rejected negotiations and banked everything on a military victory, according to Kraft's French source, was that "they did not understand that a soft, neutralist regime with a broad political base could both cover up an American defeat and thwart a Communist victory."

Sub drive over the top!

'Target week' of sales campaign a big success

By Pat Galligan

"No funds for war, no GIs to Vietnam!" The day after Ford's April 10 speech, the *Militant* was on the streets with the demands of the overwhelming majority of the population.

Sales of the April 18 *Militant* during the special target week of socialist campaigning in local areas totaled 15,138 copies—156 percent of our weekly national goal. Also, 3,520 copies of the April *Young Socialist* were sold in the thirteen cities reporting on YS sales.

Subscriptions sold during the target week brought the *Militant's* subscription drive over the top of its 9,000 goal, to at least 9,015. Returns from weekend sales are still coming in. The complete subscription scoreboard will be printed next week.

Militant supporters from Brooklyn, Lower Manhattan, and Upper West Side, New York, gathered to hear the results of the week's sales at a victory party on Saturday evening. Combined sales from the three areas reached 3,538 *Militants* and 1,039 YSs.

Upper West Side took the honors in the city-wide rivalry with total sales of 1,597 papers. Ike Nahem was the top salesperson in New York and nationally with combined *Militant* and YS sales of 190 papers.

In addition to the New York areas,

Militant sales went over the 1,000 mark in Cleveland and San Francisco.

At the top of this week's scoreboard is Milwaukee. Members of the newly established branch of the Socialist Workers party and the local of the Young Socialist Alliance in that city sold 819 *Militants*—more than four times their weekly goal. Their YS sales total of 470 led the country.

Larry Thomas sold most of his seventy-seven *Militants* and sixty-eight YSs on the Milwaukee campus of the University of Wisconsin (UWM).

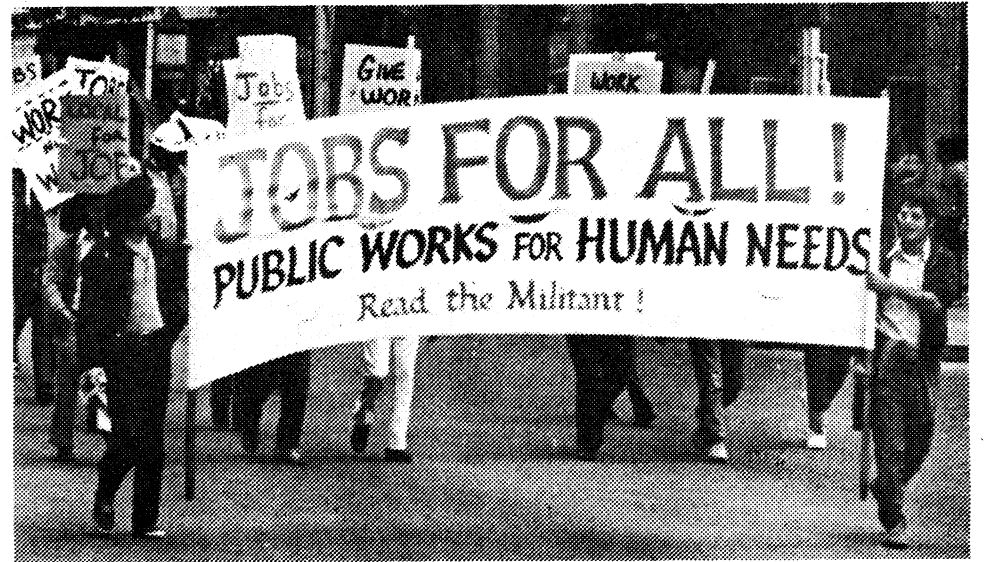
Thomas, a student at UWM, was first introduced to the *Militant* through a subscription he bought from a Young Socialist team visiting the campus two years ago. His weekly sales of thirty to fifty papers have helped establish the *Militant* as the campus's most widely read radical newspaper.

Thomas was nudged out of top sales honors last week by Ted Shakespeare, who used his job layoff to good advantage, selling 131 *Militants* and thirty-eight YSs.

On Monday, Shakespeare sold at a public hearing on school desegregation. In all, thirty-seven *Militants* and fifty YSs were sold at the meeting.

Shakespeare notes: "People were attracted by both papers' coverage of the Boston situation."

"The issues posed in Boston are



Militant/Dennis Scarla

Single copy sales of 'Militant' hit 15,138 last week, 156 percent of our goal.

much sharper to people here now because of what's happening in Milwaukee," he said.

The successful sales week in Milwaukee was summed up by sales director Delfine Welch: "Last week, this city was inundated with the fact that the SWP and YSA are in Milwaukee."

The Sacramento YSA made its sales goal last week largely through the efforts of Ben Herrera. He took the local's bundle of thirty-five *Militants* and a supply of YSs to a lecture on assassination conspiracies at that city's Consummes Junior College.

Reprints of the FBI Cointelpro documents boosted his sales for the evening to thirty-one *Militants* and fifteen YSs.

Response across the country to the *Militant's* strong stand against U.S. war moves was an important factor in making last week the best sales week of the spring campaign.

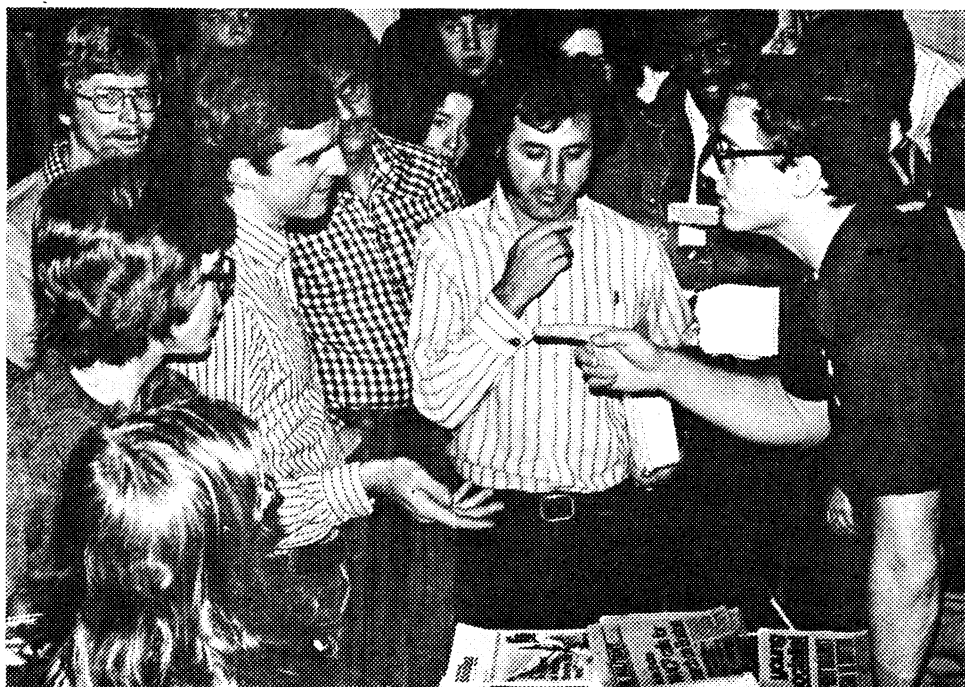
Antiwar sentiment among jobless workers in San Francisco, for example, is one reason for successful *Militant* sales at the unemployment office. Barbara Zdenok sells at least fifteen copies each time she sells there.

"People see Washington's military budget and its aid to dictators around the world as the source of the economic crisis in this country," she explains.

Zdenok tells us that she often receives donations as well. "People give me a dollar for one *Militant* and ask me to give three copies away—it's the best response I've ever had selling the paper," she said.

Sales scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sold last week	%
Milwaukee	200	819	410
Upper West Side, N.Y.	425	1,315	309
Cleveland	350	1,080	309
Lower Manhattan, N.Y.	400	1,159	290
Brooklyn, N.Y.	400	1,064	266
San Francisco	450	1,058	235
St. Louis	400	885	221
L.A. (West Side)	375	667	178
Atlanta	475	759	160
Washington, D.C.	400	607	152
San Diego	275	416	151
Sacramento, Calif.	25	35	140
Oakland/Berkeley	600	817	136
Baltimore	75	100	133
Denver	350	454	130
Houston	500	605	121
Pittsburgh	375	449	120
Nashville, Tenn.	30	35	117
Logan, Utah	45	50	111
Seattle	275	297	108
Tucson, Ariz.	50	50	100
San Antonio, Tex.	35	35	100
Syracuse, N.Y.	5	5	100
Detroit	600	554	92
Twin Cities	400	354	89
Chicago	600	527	88
State College, Pa.	15	13	87
L.A. (Central-East)	450	322	72
Boston	400	265	66
Portland, Ore.	325	177	54
Philadelphia	400	165	41
Total	9,700	15,138	156



Charles Steed

Young Socialist Alliance literature table at Middle Tennessee State University in Murfreesboro is center of lively discussion.

Frame-up fails against Georgia Black students

By Joel Aber

ATLANTA—A De Kalb County juvenile court judge dismissed charges against eighty Black Columbia High School students April 2. For the students and their parents this was the second victory in two days against racist De Kalb school officials. On April 1, the federal Office of Civil Rights informed the school system that it would lose \$516,000 in federal aid unless it responded within twenty days to federal charges of discrimination. De Kalb is a suburban county adjacent to Atlanta.

The eighty students were among a hundred who had been hauled off to jail February 20 for attempting to go to class after their arbitrary suspension from majority-white Columbia High School following protests against racial discrimination.

Judge Dennis Jones never needed to hear the defense witnesses. He ruled favorably on a defense motion for dismissal on the ground that the prosecution had presented no evidence that the students had caused any disruption.

Defense attorney Roger Mills ex-

plained that the disruption at Columbia High was caused by teachers, administrators, and cops, not by the eighty students, who had been attending class. The disruption began when teachers and school officials began dragging Black students out of class and putting them in the cafeteria. Students trying to leave the cafeteria were then blocked by police. Yet school officials argued that the students were at fault because their presence prevented the normal service of lunch!

"They had to dismiss the charges because there was a lot of pressure on them," student leader Regina Marble told the *Militant*. Even *Atlanta Constitution* editor Reginald Murphy, a conservative representative of the Atlanta business establishment, had pleaded with school officials to drop the charges. They refused.

School officials are also refusing to be pressured by the federal government into taking even token steps toward ending racial discrimination. Regarding the threatened loss of federal funds, assistant school superintendent Joe Renfroe said, "We aren't going

to sell out what we believe in for half-a-million dollars or for \$50 million."

What Renfroe believes in is the most blatant racial bias, a report from the Office of Civil Rights reveals. The OCR report cites the following evidence: 58 of the 101 De Kalb schools have not one Black teacher; 47 percent of the students labeled "EMR" (mentally retarded) are Black, while the system is only 15 percent Black; since it was forced to end the Jim Crow system of separate Black schools, the county has reduced the number of Black head coaches; of 229 school buses owned by the system, not one is used to effect desegregation; Black students are suspended from school at nearly four times the rate for white students.

The federal report notes that Columbia High School in particular "is administered in a fashion which results in racial discrimination." Of 353 classes at Columbia, it found, 200 are easily identifiable as to racial composition.

On April 7, the lily-white De Kalb school board continued its racist offensive, voting unanimously not to re-

spond to the federal charges and to reject federal funding. The motion they passed states, "The board will not, under any circumstances, sacrifice the learning opportunities of children for external fiscal resources or an effort to implement political and social change if these changes are detrimental to the environment."

In other words, commented one Black parent, "They're telling me it's detrimental to the environment to give my kids an equal education."

The vote was too much for the school board vice-chairman, who resigned. Concerned Citizens, a group that is fighting against racism in education, is demanding that the board replace him with a Black community representative.

"De Kalb would rather be racist than right," say banners made by Concerned Citizens as they prepare for a picket and boycott of the merchants in South De Kalb Mall. Since all the board members are white businessmen, they feel that an economic boycott by the Black community could be persuasive.

Calendar

BOSTON

ABORTION ACTION WEEK ACTIVITIES. Wed., April 30, 3:30 p.m.: **A conference on high school women and abortion.** Crittenton-Hastings Clinic, 10 Perthshire Rd., Brighton. 7:30 p.m.: **Seminar on Black and Third World women and abortion.** Cultural presentation by National Black Feminist Organization, film. Dennison House, 25 Howard Ave. (off Dudley near Uphams Corner). Sat., May 3, 11:30 a.m.: **March and rally.** Assemble at Copley Square, march to Boston Common across from statehouse. 12:30 p.m.: **Rally.** Speakers: Dr. Kenneth Edelin; Dr. Barbara Roberts; Thomas Atkins, Boston NAACP; State Rep. Elaine Noble; Florence Luscomb. Ausp: Coalition to Defend Abortion Rights, Northeastern Univ. Women's Center, 5 Ell Bldg., Huntington Ave., Boston, Mass. 02115. For more information call (617) 437-2130.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE FIRST AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Speaker: Dianne Feeley, women's studies teacher in New York, coauthor of *Feminism and Socialism*. Fri., May 2, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor (opp. South Sta.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

DETROIT

FREE JOAN LITTLE! Speakers: Henry Fagin, Detroit Coalition to Free Joan Little; Marcia Davis, National Black Feminist Organization; Meg Hayes, YSA. Fri., May 2, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

...Vietnam

Continued from back page

Ford's "evacuation" gambit aimed at forcing the opening of negotiations.

The replacement of Thieu was a precondition set by Hanoi and the PRG before they would engage in negotiations. It was a move that many analysts in the capitalist press had been clamoring for. But both Senate Democratic party leader Mike Mansfield and Republican whip Hugh Scott said that the resignation may have come too late.

Thieu's departure followed by only a few days Henry Kissinger's remarks to the House International Relations Committee April 18. Kissinger testified that the Ford administration was exploring the possibility of negotiations that could "preserve some elements of self-determination" for South Vietnam. He noted that Washington "supports the government of Vietnam," not any one individual—an obvious reference to Thieu.

After ten years of loyal service to his masters in Washington, Thieu was understandably bitter over his forced

OAKLAND/BERKELEY

WHY GEORGE JACKSON WAS KILLED. Speakers: Eric Mann, biographer of George Jackson; Paul Boutelle, SWP. Fri., May 2, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

PHILADELPHIA

SECOND-CLASS EDUCATION IN PHILADELPHIA: SPANISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS. Speaker: Andrew Erba. Committee for Legal Services; a play, performed by Aspira Club, Edison High School. Fri., May 2, 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

PITTSBURGH

MAY DAY 1975: U.S. LABOR ON THE MOVE. A panel of speakers. Thurs., May 1, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. (corner of Halkey). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

ST. LOUIS

THE MOVEMENT TO SAVE HOMER G. PHILLIPS HOSPITAL. Speakers: Ernest Calloway, professor of urban studies, St. Louis Univ.; Charles Bussey, chairperson, Committee to Save Homer G. Phillips Hospital. Fri., May 2, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Suite 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SAN FRANCISCO

CHILE: THE DAYS OF TERROR ARE NOT OVER. Speakers: Rodolfo Campos, Chilean imprisoned and tortured by junta for a year and a half; Joe Lombardo, USLA. Fri., May 2, 8 p.m. 1519 Mission St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

retirement. But despite Kissinger's talk about self-determination, Thieu was never in doubt about who gave the orders.

"Reliable sources disclosed that Thieu's resignation came after U.S. Ambassador Graham Martin visited him in the presidential palace late Saturday night and indicated that he ought to step down," reported H.D.S. Greenway and Philip McCombs in the April 23 *Washington Post*.

PRG representative Pham Van Ba reacted to Thieu's dismissal by demanding additional changes in the Saigon government. He said that the new head of the Saigon regime "is not Nguyen Van Thieu but he is his brother."

Hanoi demanded that Washington withdraw the armada of warships assembling off the coast of Vietnam, remove its military advisers from the country, and "completely end its military involvement and interference."

There is general agreement among military experts and observers in Saigon that victory in the thirty-year struggle waged by the Vietnamese is within their grasp. Gen. Frederick Weyand, the U.S. Army chief of staff,

told a House committee April 21 that the North Vietnamese and PRG forces "have the capacity to overwhelm South Vietnam if they want to."

"Most Western military analysts believe that Communist strength around Saigon is now so overwhelming that the capital could be taken in days or hours," Malcolm Browne cabled from Saigon to the April 20 *New York Times*.

The question now is whether the PRG and Hanoi leaders will agree to a deal that heads off the complete defeat of the Saigon regime. Twice before, in 1946 and 1954, the Vietnamese have foregone the victory they won on the battlefield to accept a political settlement that left an imperialist foothold in their country. In each case they were eventually forced to resume their long and costly struggle under less advantageous conditions.

If the statements of the PRG and Hanoi are to be believed, they are seeking such a deal once again. *New York Times* correspondent Flora Lewis described April 17 how visitors meeting with North Vietnamese representatives "report that the Communists all stress the desire to take up negotiations provided under the 1973 Paris agreements for a coalition council in South Vietnam to be followed by elections. They also report an expressed reluctance to press for a forceful and complete Communist takeover of Saigon."

Public statements by the PRG continually stress its desire to work within the framework of the Paris accords, which called for a three-part administration composed of representatives from the Saigon regime, the PRG, and an undefined bloc of "neutralists" acceptable to both sides.

In the May 1 issue of the *New York Review of Books* Jean Lacouture, the French scholar and biographer of Ho Chi Minh, described the conclusions he had drawn from his extensive contacts with the PRG and Hanoi. "While it would be rash to predict what the victors will do with their victory," said Lacouture, "it is not, I think, naïve to believe they are capable of arranging a series of compromises, not only in the towns and villages of central South Vietnam, but around and inside Saigon itself. . . .

"All the talks I have had with leading Vietnamese revolutionaries turn on this policy of compromise. . . .

"There is much talk now of a political 'void' in Saigon. . . . But if it

becomes clear that gestures toward negotiation can lead to a braking of the revolutionary offensive, we can expect that there will perhaps be an overabundance of politicians willing to play a part."

This policy of compromise is obviously the one that the Kremlin approves of. Moscow's lack of enthusiasm for the rebel gains in Vietnam was indicated by the fact that it was not until April 9—fully three weeks after the spectacular collapse of the Saigon forces began—that a Soviet leader even commented directly on the events in Vietnam.

In an April 18 dispatch from Moscow, *New York Times* correspondent Christopher Wren wrote: "Soviet diplomats analyzing the fighting in South Vietnam have told well-placed sources here that they do not expect the Communist forces to try to capture Saigon and win the war in the current offensive."

Certainly the Kremlin bureaucrats hope that this is the case; as far as they are concerned, the stunning victories won by the liberation forces in Vietnam are an embarrassment that stands in the way of better relations with Washington.

Despite the Stalinist efforts to arrange a new compromise in Vietnam, this may well prove impossible. The continuing breakdown of the Saigon administration and army may reach the point where PRG and Hanoi forces have no alternative but to march into Saigon. In addition, independent actions by the masses in Saigon themselves may finally put an end to the puppet regime.

In any case, the task of antiwar forces inside the United States is clear. Washington must not get the chance to begin the war anew in order to maintain its beachhead in Indochina.

Not one more bomb, not one more soldier, not one more dollar for war in Indochina!

Calendar and classified rates: 75 cents per line of 56-character-wide typewritten copy. Display ad rates: \$10 per column inch (\$7.50 if camera-ready ad is enclosed). Payment must be included with ads. The Militant is published each week on Friday. Deadlines for ad copy: Friday, one week preceding publication, for classified and display ads; Wednesday noon, two days preceding publication, for calendar ads. Telephone: (212) 243-6392.

Socialist Directory

ARIZONA: Tucson: YSA, c/o Clennon, S.U.P.O. Box 20965, Tucson, Ariz. 85720.

CALIFORNIA: Berkeley-Oakland: SWP and YSA, 1849 University Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 94703. Tel: (415) 548-0354.

Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: SWP, Militant Bookstore—(213) 483-1512, YSA—(213) 483-2581.

Los Angeles, West Side: SWP and YSA, 230 Broadway, Santa Monica, Calif. 90401. Tel: (213) 394-9050.

Los Angeles: City-wide SWP and YSA, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: (213) 483-0357.

Riverside: YSA, c/o U. of Cal. Campus Activities, 234 Commons, Riverside, Calif. 92507.

Sacramento: YSA, P.O. Box 20669, Sacramento, Calif. 95824.

San Diego: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 4635 El Cajon Blvd., San Diego, Calif. 92115. Tel: (714) 280-1292.

San Francisco: SWP, YSA, Militant Labor Forum, and Militant Books, 1519 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103. Tel: SWP—(415) 431-8918, YSA—(415) 863-2285; Militant Books—(415) 864-9174.

San Jose: YSA, 96 S. 17th St., San Jose, Calif. 95112. Tel: (408) 286-0615.

Santa Barbara: YSA, P.O. Box 14606, UCSB, Santa Barbara, Calif. 93107.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, and Militant Bookstore, 1203 California, Denver, Colo. 80204. Tel: SWP—(303) 623-2825, YSA—(303) 266-9431.

Greeley: YSA, c/o Barbara Jaeger, 712 15th Ave. Court, Greeley, Colo. 80631.

FLORIDA: Tallahassee: YSA, P.O. Box U-6350, Tallahassee, Fla. 32313.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: Militant Bookstore, 68 Peachtree St., N.E., Third Floor, Atlanta, Ga. 30303.

SWP and YSA, P.O. Box 846, Atlanta, Ga. 30301. Tel: (404) 523-0610.

ILLINOIS: Champaign: YSA, Room 284 Illini Union, Urbana, Ill. 61801.

Chicago: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Tel: SWP—(312) 939-0737, YSA—(312) 427-0280, Pathfinder Books—(312) 939-0756.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, c/o Student Activities Desk, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. 47401.

Indianapolis: YSA, c/o Carole McKee, 1309 E. Vermont St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46202. Tel: (317) 637-1105.

KANSAS: Lawrence: YSA, c/o Christopher Starr, 3020 Iowa St., Apt. C-14, Lawrence, Kans. 66044. Tel: (913) 864-3975 or 842-8658.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: YSA, Box 8026, Louisville, Ky. 40208.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: YSA, P.O. Box 4314, Baltimore, Md. 21223. Tel: (301) 247-8911.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP and YSA, c/o Militant Labor Forum, 655 Atlantic Ave., Third Floor, Boston, Mass. 02111. Tel: SWP—(617) 482-8050, YSA—(617) 482-8051; Issues and Activists Speakers' Bureau (IASB) and Regional Committee—(617) 482-8052; Pathfinder Books—(617) 338-8560.

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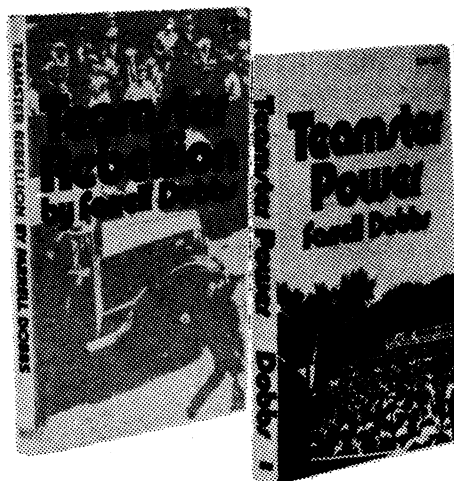
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THE MILITANT

'Evacuation' a pretext

No GIs to Vietnam!

By David Frankel

April 24—As the *Militant* goes to press, both the Senate and the House of Representatives have passed bills authorizing the use of U.S. troops to evacuate an unspecified number of South Vietnamese and Americans from Vietnam. Thousands of U.S. Marines and an armada of warships are already poised off the coast of South Vietnam.

This evacuation is a pretext, a hypocritical maneuver. The purpose is not to save lives; it is to try to force the Vietnamese to accept a settlement short of complete victory over Washington's puppet regime in Saigon.

The Democratic "doves," after swearing up and down that they would never vote another cent for war in Vietnam or send another GI there, have shown where they really stand. The "veto-proof" Congress obediently lined up for one last try at salvaging an imperialist foothold in Vietnam.

The meaning of their vote was clear. In a CBS television interview April 21, Ford himself insisted that if the Vietnamese offered any resistance to the Pentagon's plans, it would necessitate a "sizeable military involvement" of American troops "on a short-term basis."

The American people have repeatedly made clear their opposition to any further military adventures in Vietnam. An outcry of protest is needed from the labor movement, the unemployed, students, and others, demanding loud and clear that Washington get out of Vietnam and stay out! The appropriation of huge sums whose real purpose is to prolong the agony of the Vietnamese people is particularly obscene at a time when government workers are being laid off of their

jobs, schools are being closed, and Congress is complaining of the lack of money for social welfare programs.

Furthermore, once American combat forces are again introduced in Vietnam, there is a serious possibility of renewed escalation of the fighting and killing.

"The Pentagon is seriously exploring the use of direct air strikes and ground military action if necessary to protect American evacuees," wrote Guy Halverson and Godfrey Sperling, Jr., in the April 23 *Christian Science Monitor*.

Specially equipped F-4 Phantom jets have already been rushed from Okinawa to Thailand for possible use against North Vietnamese and Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) troops, and the U.S. military buildup off the Vietnamese coast is continuing.

According to Halverson and Sperling, "Some Pentagon officials . . . are troubled that a limited use of troops could in fact spark a larger 'military operation,' since the Marines would presumably be given authority to use whatever force was necessary in their landing operations. . . .

"But given a collapse, and a trapping of U.S. citizens in Saigon, that is a risk that the Pentagon appears prepared to take."

Ford would doubtless like to do something along the lines of the recent proposal by Walt Rostow—one of the architects of the Vietnam War under Kennedy and Johnson. Rostow suggested that Washington "put ashore two marine divisions at some strategic point in North Vietnam and with them hold a perimeter until the North Vietnamese agree to honor the 1973 accords."



U.S. Marines in Hawaii preparing for Vietnam intervention

However, Ford knows that the political consequences of such a move would be explosive in the United States. His hope is that some judicious threats will force the PRG and Hanoi to the negotiating table.

Pointing to the 1973 Vietnam accords, signed after the brutal Christmas bombing campaign by the United States, the *New York Times* claimed in its April 14 editorial: "A blueprint for

South Vietnam's political evolution exists, and can even claim some degree of legitimacy, since all sides put their signatures to it in Paris. . . .

"It gives what is left of non-Communist Vietnam the last possible hope of avoiding a total political collapse."

The *Times*, along with the bulk of the ruling class, has solidly backed

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Bicentennial protest: 'No more war!'

By Maurice Baker

CONCORD, Mass.—They stood, 25,000 strong, on the Concord side of the Old North Bridge. Two hundred years earlier, on April 18, 1775, a militia of American revolutionaries had battled and defeated British troops at the very same site. The great bulk of the young crowd had walked several miles (police had closed all access by car) to reach the rally site of the People's Bicentennial.

"What do we want?" Anita Bond, of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, asked the demonstrators. "Jobs," the crowd roared back.

Bond denounced the willingness of the government to spend billions on war while refusing to meet the needs of the unemployed.

Other speakers at the rally included Barry Commoner, Florence Luscomb of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Jerry Rifkin of the People's Bicentennial Commission.

Although very few participants in the spirited bicentennial protest carried signs or banners, there was one

notable exception. At the foot of the Old North Bridge, where all the demonstrators had to pass to reach the rally site, stood a large banner that read, "200 Years of Capitalism is Enough!"

Under the banner was a literature table staffed by campaign supporters of the Socialist Workers party. The socialist campaigners were selling revolutionary books and pamphlets, and the *Militant* and *Young Socialist* newspapers. Despite the pouring rain they distributed thousands of copies of the "Bill of Rights for Working People."

One piece of literature that the socialists were handing out was a statement by Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor of Boston, on the situation in Southeast Asia.

Oliver warned that Ford "is now fishing for an excuse to send troops into Vietnam again. To prevent the maneuvers that are certain to be coming from Washington, we must maintain our vigilance. Our independent actions must continue to demand clearly:

"Not one penny for Thieu or any other puppet government in Saigon! "No U.S. troops to Southeast Asia!"

Several thousand of the participants in the People's Bicentennial stayed to make their voices heard when President Ford spoke later. His speech was often broken by chants of "No more war!" It was fitting that Ford spoke from the Lexington side of the Old North Bridge—the side the British troops stood on 200 years ago.

SEATTLE—More than 1,100 persons jammed into a ballroom and spilled into the halls at the University of Washington here at an April 16 teach-in against the war in Vietnam. For many it was their first exposure to this form of protest activity. They applauded the antiwar speakers fervently.

Professor Giovanni Costigan told the crowd that in early 1965, "representatives of the government were more than happy to present the State Department's side of the story at the rallies and teach-ins. After around six

months, though, the State Department representatives refused to come any more. Their reasons for U.S. intervention could not stand up; their defenses for war were hollow."

Stephanie Coontz of the Socialist Workers party, a longtime antiwar activist at the University of Washington, stressed the need for ongoing actions against any further U.S. involvement in Indochina. "We have to make sure that our rulers are afraid to step outside this country," she said.

Do Van Du, a Vietnamese student, said, "The refugees flee the fighting and the bombing, but now I hope my family remained in Hue. They will be better off."

Concluding the panel of speakers was Stan Neilson, a former Marine Corps helicopter pilot, who summed up the feelings of all in attendance when he told the crowd: "I think we should get out of Vietnam right now. More people are going to die if we don't."

Also speaking at the teach-in were Professor Daniel Lev, and Merlin Rainwater of the American Friends Service Committee.